

**A Treatise,**  
**Touching the Li-**  
**bertie of a Chri-**  
**stian.**

*Written in Latin*  
by Doctor Mar-  
tine Luther.

*And Translated*  
into English by  
JAMES BELL.


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To the right Honourable,  
and most vertuous Lady,  
*Anne, Countesse of War-*  
*wicke.*

 After I had finished this  
simple Translation for  
the behoofe of the vn-  
lettered, some of my  
welwillers conceiuing  
well of the matter, were very desirous  
that I should present the same to some  
noble personage: others challenging  
more knowledge in Courtly affaires,  
perswaded the contrary, being of opi-  
nion, that though it might in some re-  
spect seeme plausible enough, yet the  
present being but simple, could not  
deserue to be aduanced to Court, espe-  
cially to place of estate. And although  
I supposed, and partly knew, that the  
opinion of the later was but weake in  
A ii iudge.

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iudgement: yet loe, it made so much the longer stay in deliberation, by how much I was abashed in conceit, in respect of my rudenesse, and vnaptnesse, to satisfie the learned, & Courtly cares. Neuerthelesse, hauing clothed my Stranger in English attyre (whom I call a Stranger, in respect of the person, who was the first Author thereof.) And well knowing the Court, to the great fame and honour thereof, by the space of many yeares now passed, to haue bin the rescue of all Strangers distressed, I could not but belecue, that in the Court, this Stranger so godly, so zealous, so learned, should be both easily accepted, and gently entertained: and encouraged by this well knowne experience, I yeelded my selfe to the first perswasion, and finding by generall report (Madame) the noble ornaments and gifts, I speake not onely of  
nature,

*Dedicatorie.*

nature, but of godlinesse, wisedome,  
and zeale, ioyned with singular milde-  
nesse and benignity, being the fruits  
of grace amongst the rest especially, to  
shine in your sacred breast, I was ther-  
by emboldned to proccede, and aboue  
all others, to presume vpon your ho-  
nourable patience, and to present to  
your honour this my poore Stranger:  
In whose commendation I dare bold-  
ly affirme, that there was neuer any a  
more trusty seruant to his Master: ne-  
uer any of more vndaunted courage  
in his Masters cause: neuer any that  
aduentured, or durst aduenture far-  
ther: neuer any that vsed more con-  
stancie, magnanimity, and force, in  
battering the fortresses of the enemy:  
neuer any that pierced deeper, preuai-  
led further, and procured larger, for  
the safety of poore Christians, so  
many hundred yeares oppressed, im-  
prisoned,



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prisoned, impouerished, yoked, and chained in miserable captiuitie, through the monstrous outrage of that execrable Nimrod of Rome, amongst many of whose exployts, albeit there cannot any one bee found, that is not able to replenish the Spirituall and true Christian man, with such, and so great ioy, as can not with my penne be expressed, yet in my simple iudgement, this one little treatise of his, which I haue now aboue all others selected to translate, doth farre excell and surmount in ghostly consolation, wherein are entreated no vaine, childish, or trifling toyes, but sweet, delectable, serious, weighty, and matters of great importance, namely, the pure faith of a true Christian man, the ioyfull voion and marriage of the most amiable Bridegrome I E S V Christ, to the poore miserable abiect and wretched

*Dedicatorie.*

wretched Soule, the well ordering of christian life, and the glad some christian freedome and liberty. Euen such a one is this my Stranger; whom, if it may please your Honour to vouchsafe vnto your honourable patronage, I shall not onely accompt my selfe most happy in my choice, but also (acknowledging your honourable courtesie in full satisfaction of mine English cost, such as it is employed) yeeld my selfe doubly bounden & indebted to your Honour in any thing which my penne may endeaour, or trauell may performe. The holy ghost, the Author of all goodnesse, & ghostly consolation, replenish your heart with the most ioyfull freedome of his grace, to the comfort of all such as trauell in the building of Gods holy temple.

*Your honour's most humble at commandement,*  
JAMES BELL;

¶ To *Leo* the tenth, Bishop of  
*Rome*, *Martyne Luther* sendeth  
greeting in Christ Iesu  
our Lord.



Mongst the monsters of this  
world, with whom I haue bin  
in continuall combate these  
three whole yeeres, and more,  
I am enforced now at the length to turne  
mine eyes vnto you, and to haue you in  
remembrance (O most holy father *Leo*)  
yea, for as much as you only bee account-  
ed the very cause of this my turmoyle, I  
cannot choose but bee alwayes mindfull  
of you. And albeit I haue beene constrain-  
ed, through insatiable cruelty of your  
wicked Sicophants, raging against mee  
without desert, to appeale to the next ge-  
nerall Counsell, little esteeming the most  
vaine decrees of your predecessours, *Pius*,  
and *Innocent*, who of a foolish tyranny haue  
prohibited such appellatio to be made fro  
the See Apostolique. Yet did I neuer  
meane whiles so estrange mine affection  
from your holines, but that I haue with  
all mine heart wished all felicity and hap-  
pinesse

The De-  
crees doe  
prohibite  
to appeale  
to the ge-  
nerall  
Councels.



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pires to you and to your See, and in my daily prayers with teares and sighes, euen to the vttermost of my power, haue heartily besought God for the same: But as for those which haue hitherto practised to terrify me with the authority and maielty of your name, I haue now begun almost to contemne and account them of no force: onely one thing yet remayneth, which I may not despise, which occasioned mee at this present to addresse my letters to your holinesse. And this it is, because I perceiue that I am accused vnto your holinesse, and very grievously blamed for my rashnesse, in that I am supposed to haue no consideration of your personage.

Wherein, to confesse the truth plainly, I am priuy in mine owne conscience, that wheresoeuer behooueth me to make mention your of person, I did neuer speak thereof without all honour and reuerence: the contrary wherof if I had attempted at any time, I might not haue beene able to iustifie, and would by all meanes possible haue subscribed vnto their iudgments, conceiued of me herein, and withall would haue applied

The cause  
why Lu-  
ther wrote  
these Let-  
ters to the  
Pope.

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How Luther beha-  
ued him-  
selfe to  
wards the  
Pope.

plyed to nothing more willingly, than to  
make open recantation of this my teme-  
rity, and misdemeanour in that behalfe: I  
haue named you a *Daniel* in *Babylon*: and  
your notable innocency with how earnest  
affection I haue defended against your  
slandorous enemy *Syluester*, euery reader  
doth sufficiently vnderstand, namely, that  
the opinion and report of your vnrepro-  
uable life, resounding in each coast through-  
out the whole world, by the testimony of  
so many & so notable personages is more  
famous and renowned, than that it may be  
impeached by the sinister practise of any  
man, though neuer so great a potentate. I  
am not so void of reason, as to defame him  
whom all men commend, so also haue I  
beene euer of this minde, not to seeke the  
defacing of any one, though otherwise in-  
famous by report of al others: for I reioyce  
not at another mans blemish, who am my  
selfe a sufficient witnes to mine own consci-  
ence, of mine owne great beame in mine  
owne eye: nor can be the first that may cast  
a stone at the woman taken in adultery.

Indeed I haue accustomed my selfe to  
inueigh

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inueigh against wicked doctrines, somewhat sharply: and haue pinched mine aduersaries, not for their licentious liues, but for their irreligious doctrines, somewhat earnestly: whereof it so little repenteth me, that I am fully perswaded, without all

Why Luther was so vehement against his aduersaries

regard had of mens censures herein, to perseuere in that vehemency of zeale: en-  
duced hereunto by the example of Christ,  
who according to the same zeale, spared  
not to call his aduersaries Vipers brood,  
blinde Hypocrites, and children of the de-  
vill. So doth Paul accuse *Symon Magus*

2. In 9  
Mr Jacobs  
case

to bee the child of Sathan, full of fraud and malice. And some others he repro-  
ueth openly by the name of Dogges, De-  
ceiuers, and crafty Simonists. Of whose  
sharpe words, if nice delicates may bee  
admitted Iudges, nothing shall bee suppo-  
sed more nipping and vnciuill. What can  
bee more vehement than the Prophets?

Paul and the Prophets be sharpe against the tenderlings.

certaines the manners of our age, are become  
so tender through the furious swarme of  
clawbacks, that wee can no sooner feele  
our soares a little discovered, but wee ex-

The delicate manners of our age.

claimeth forthwith that we are launced: and  
being

2. In 9  
Jo



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being not able to crack the credit of the truth by any caullation, we flee from her, condemning her of curishnesse, impatience, and modesty. How shall salt season if it be not sauiory? what auaieth the edge of a sword if it cannot cut? curled is the man that doth the Lords worke fraudulently. Wherefore I humbly beseech you (my reuerend *Leo*) vouchsafe these my letters for mine excuse, and withall periwade your selfe, that I neuer conceiued any euill of your personage. Then also, that I am so affected towards you, as that I could heartily wish vnto your Holinesse all felicity for euer. Moreouer, that I am not at variance with any man, for conuersation of life, but only touching the only word of truth. In all matters else whatsoeuer, I will giue place to others, but the word, neither can I, nor will I forsake or deny. Who so that iudgeth of mee otherwise, or hath conceiued otherwise of my writings, doth not iudge truly, nor conceiue thereof aright.

Luthers  
variance.

The Court  
of Rome.

But your See (which is tearmed the Court of Rome, and which neither you

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you, nor any man liuing can deny to  
bee more filthy than Babylon and  
Zodome, and as farre forth as I can  
conceiue, growne to most lamentable,  
forlorne, and most shamelesse impiety)  
I haue detested indeed, and haue taken it  
very grieuously, that the people of Christ  
should be deluded vnder the countenance  
of your name and your holinesse, and vn-  
der the pretence of the Church of *Rome*:  
and herein haue resisted, and will resist  
the same, as long as the spirit of Faith  
shall liue in me: not because I dare thinke  
to archieue impossibilities, or that by mine  
onely endeauiour, I may hope for any  
amendment in this most confusely dis-  
ordered *Babylon*, being circumuented with  
such a rable of brainsicke blaunchers:  
But because I do acknowledge my selfe  
indebted to my poore brethren, whose  
safety I ought to regard; that the losse  
of them that perish may bee abridged, or  
at the least lesse infection may spreade a-  
broad from those Romish botches. For  
these many yeeres now *Rome* hath sur-  
rounded the whole world with nothing  
else,

What  
stuffe hath  
issued from  
*Rome* into  
the world.

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The  
Church  
of Rome.

else, (whereof your holines is not ignorant) but with vtter destruction of all things, of bodies, of soules, and with most pestiferous patterns of al mōstrous wickednes: which doth rage at this day in the sight of all men, more manifest than the Sun in midday: And the Church of *Rome* which was sometime the most holy of all other, is become the most licentious denne of theeues, the most shamelesse Brothelhouse of all the world, the kingdome of Sinne, Death, and Hell, in so much that it passeth all reach of man to deuise any abomination, that is not haunted there, no though Antichrist himselfe were come.

In the meane time you (right reuerend father *Leo*) sit as a Lambe in the midst of Wolues, as *Daniel* amidst the Lions, and are with *Ezechiel* conuersant with Scorpions. How can you alone be able to withstand all these monsters? Gard your personage with three or foure Cardinals excellent in all learning, and most vertuous in manners: what shall this handfull doe amongst so great a troupe? you shall all be sooner swallowed vp with poyson, before you



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you may dare attempt any reformati-  
on. The Court of *Rome* is vtterly vndone,  
the wrath of God is bent against it euen for  
euer and euer. It hateth counsels, it feareth  
to bee reformed, it is not able to restraine  
the furiousnesse of her impiety: and it ac-  
complisheth the prophecy of her mother,  
of whom it is written on this wise: Wee  
haue cherished *Babylon*, and she is not re-  
couered, let vs forsake her. Indeed it be-  
longed to you, & your Cardinals, to haue  
cured those plagues: but this gout scor-  
neth the Physitians drugges, and this cart  
will not goe driuen nor led. Moued there-  
fore with remorse, herein I sorrowed al-  
wayes (right reuerend *Leo*) becaule you  
were enstalled Pope in this wicked age,  
whose worthinesse deserved a better time:  
For the Court of *Rome* is not worthy to  
be possessed of you, and such as you are,  
but rather of Sathan himselfe, which in  
truth doth raigne in this *Babylon*, more thā  
you. O would to God you could con-  
tent you selfe rather with some priuate  
benefice, or with your parents patrimony,  
renouncing this portlinesse, wherewith  
those

Sathan  
raighneth  
at Rome,  
not the  
Pope.

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those flatterers your most detestable enemies, doe vaunt you to bee glorious, with which glory none are meet to bee glorified, but trayterous Iscariots, the impes of perdition. For what commendation else do you get in that Palace (my *Leo*) but that by how much any Teacher is more wicked execrable, so much the more safely hee may shrowd him vnder your name and authority, to robbe men of their money and soules, to heape mischief vpon mischief, to oppresse Faith, Truth, together with all the Church of God? Oh most vnfortunate *Leo*, doubtlesse enthronized in a most perilous place of renowne: for I tell you the truth, because I doe with well vnto you: For if *Bernard* took compassion of his welbeloued *Eugenius*,\* when as yet there was some better hope of the See of *Rome*, (though then also it was filthily emperious,) whereof may we complaine first, who haue weltered these three hundred yeeres now in stench and destruction? Is not this true, that vnder the whole outstretched face of the heauens, there is nothing more contagious, more pestiferous, &  
more

*Eugenius*  
was Pope,  
sometimes  
Schollar  
vnto *Bernard*.

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more odious, thā the court of *Rome* ? for it is more incomparably execrable, than the turkish impiety, so that true it is indeed, that the same which was in times past the gate of heauen, is now become a certaine gaping gulfe of Hell, and so vnsatiabla a gulfe, as cannot possibly be satisfied, the wrath of God being fully bent against the same. One only comfort remaineth for the poore wretches, if we be able to reclaime & preferue some few at the least, from this wide gaping iawes (as I said before,) Behold (my holy father *Leo*) by what inducement, & by what reason I haue inueighed against this chaire of pestilence : for it is so farre off from my thought to grow in outrage against your personage, as that I would hope to obtaine your fauour, and bee deemed a stout patrone of your safety, if I would manfully, and valiantly crush in pieces the Gates of this your dungeon, or of this your Hell rather : for howsoeuer the generall force of all pollicie can possibly imagine to worke the vtter ruine of the most horrible Court of this age, the same shall redound al to your

B

person,

One only  
remedy  
remaining  
in the cor-  
rupt Ro-  
mish  
Church.



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person, to the preservation of your estate, and to the safety of many others together with you. Such as doe worke her confusion, doe execute your function. They do aduance the glory of Christ, which doe by all meanes possible detest her. To conclude, they be right Christians which are least Romanists.

But to speake hereof more at large. There neuer came any such thought into my head, as to enueigh against the Court of Rome, or to discourse thereof any thing at all: For when I perceiued that all preseruatiues were medicinable to procure her amendment, I withdrew mee from her, and deliuering her a libell of diuorce, I spake vnto her in this wise: Hee that is filthy, let him continue in his filthinesse still, and he that is vncleane, let him continue in his vncleannesse still, yeelding my selfe ouer to the calme and quiet study of holy Scriptures, whereby I might be able to profit my brethren dwelling round about me. Here now when as I could very little auaille, Sathan beganne to open his eyes, and to prick forward his trusty

seruant

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seruant *John Eccius*, a notorious enemy of Christ, swelling with a certaine outrageous licentiousnesse of glory, challenging me to a combate vnloked for, tripping me for one very little word escaped mee vnawares, touching the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*. This same proud prauncing *Thraso*, frushing in his Fustian fumes, wanted lustily that hee durst attempt all things for Gods glory, and the honour of the holy See Apostolique. And being puffed vp with saucy malapertnesse of abusing your power, made no surer accompt of any thing, than of present conquest, seeking thereby not so much the primacy of Peters chayre, as his owne primacy peerelesse amongst all the Diuines of this age, for the better atchieuing whereof, hee perceiued that to leade poore **LUTHER** Captiue, would bee not the least brauery of his triumph, which enterprise, because it hapned vnluckily & contrary to the exhortation of the foolish Sophister, the man waxed incredibly furious: for he perceiued, that whatsoever infamy was raysed by mee, against

Who did  
prouoke  
Luther to  
pursue the  
trecheries  
of the false  
deceiuers.

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the Romish Church, was procured by his owne onely temerity and rashnesse.

Cardinall  
Caietane.

Vouchsafe here I beseech you (right reuerend *Leo*) that I may here once defend mine owne cause, and discover your very naturall enemies: It is not vnknowne vnto you, (I suppose) how your Legate the Cardinall of Saint *Sixtus* did deale with me, an vndiscrete man, and vnciuill, nay rather a false man: Into whose protection when I had yeelded my selfe and all mine estate for the reuerence that I beare to your holinesse, he endeaoured not to conclude a quietnesse which hee might euen with halfe a word haue established easily, when as I then promised to keepe silence, and put vp my quarrell, so that mine aduersaries might be inioyned to doe the like. But this glorious man, not satisfied with these conditions, began to authorize mine aduersaries, to giue them free liberty, and to enioyne mee to recant, which was no parcell of his commission. Certesse, when here the cause was yet in very good plight, through his immoderate handling, it began to fester worse



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worse & worse, wherupon, whatsoever fell afterwards, was to be imputed, not to *Luther*, but to *Caietanes* vndiscreteneſſe altogether, who would not permit mee to be ſilent, and to remaine in quiet, which I did at that time moſt earneſtly deſire, for what might I doe more?

After him came *Charles Militius*, and he also Legate of your holineſſe, who traue-  
ling many and ſundry waies, poaſting here and there, forth and backe, and omitting nothing that might appertaine to the redreſſe of the ſtate of the cauſe, which *Caietane* had raſhly and proudly diſordered, could ſcarce at the length bring it to paſſe, (though countenanced herein by the moſt renowned Prince *Frederike* the Elector) that he might haue once or twice ſome familiar conference with me, where I once againe yeelded to your authoritie, contented to hold my peace, not reſuſing either Archbiſhop of *Tryers*, or the Biſhop of *Numburgh* to be iudge in the cauſe, which was concluded and obtained. Whiles theſe matters proceeded thus very orderly, behold the other, yea, a greater enemy

*Charles Militius.*

Judges of  
Luthers  
cauſe cho-  
ſen.

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*Eccius.*  
The dispu-  
tation at  
*Lypsia.*

of your estate, *Eccius* rusheth out with his  
disputation at *Lypsia*, which hee had then  
published against *D. Conelastadius*, and  
picking a new quarrell of the supremacy  
of the Pope, bends his shot against mee  
at vnawares, and viterly dissolueth this  
conclusion of Peace. In the meane time  
*Carolus Militius* attendeth the successe,  
Disputation beginneth, Iudges are chosen:  
yet neuerthelesse, hitherto nothing was  
determined, and no maruaile, forasmuch  
as through *Eccius* false lying, dissembling, &  
false packing, all things were full of vnqui-  
etnesse, abounded in all melancholly, and  
fraught of all parts with confused disor-  
der, so that which way soeuer Iudgement  
were giuen, greater stormes would be ray-  
sed: for he sought for Glory, and not for  
the Truth. And here also I omitted no  
part of duty that behooued me to doe:

And I confesse, that this was not the  
least occasion of the discouery of the Ro-  
mish trumperies: yet such as it was, if any  
offence grew thereby, it was altogether to  
be imputed to *Eccius*, which vndertaking  
an enterprise aboue his reach, whiles he

gaped

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gaped ouer-greedily for his owne glory,  
did display abroad to the view of the  
whole world, the infamous estate of *Rome*.

This, euen this same *Eccius* is your c- The flat-  
nemy (my *Leo*) or rather the enemy of terer *Ecci-*  
your Court, by whose onely example, us did hurt  
a man may learne sufficiently, that there the Court  
is none more pestilent an enemy, than of *Rome*  
a flatterer, for what gayned hee by his more than  
blaunching else but a mischiefe, which the most  
no earthly King nor Potentate could mightiest  
bring to passe? for the name of the Ro- enemy else  
mish Court doth stincke now ouer could doe,  
the whole world, and the Papane au-  
thoritie is very much crased, notorious  
ignorance is generally cryed out vpon,  
whereof wee should not haue heard  
any one word at all, if *Eccius* had not  
turmoyled the peace agreed vpon be-  
twixt *Charles* and mee, which now  
himselſe perceiueth plaine enough,  
all too late, and in vaine, storming a-  
gainst the imprinting of my Bookes.  
Thus much behooued him then to haue  
thought vpon, when like a wilde  
vntamed Colt, hee raunged wholly for  
glory,



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glory, and when he sought naught else but his owne advancement, vnder the colour of your holinesse, to your maruelous detriment and danger; notwithstanding the foolish vaine man hoped, that I would haue surceased, and kept silence, being afraid of the sound of your authority (for of his wit and learning, I doe not belceue, that he was so foole-hardie) and now perceiuing that I haue taken courage, and my writings scattered abroad too much, being all too late sory for his vnauided wilfulness, he doth vnderstand, that there raigneth one in Heauen, who resisteth the proud, and casteth downe the haughty of minde, if at least yet hee conceiue so much.

Therefore, when as by this our disputation, nothing was wrought but a greater confusion of the Romish cause, *Charles Militius* maketh now his third repaire to the elders of the order, being assembled in the Chapter house, desireth aduise how to qualifie the contention, which was euen now growne to great trouble, and wonderfull perill: from whom (for as much as there

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there was small hope now to overthrow me, Gods mercy assisting me) some of the greatest pelsonages were sent vnto me, to intreate, that I would haue consideration of the estimation and honour of your holinesse, and that I should in humble letters, excuse both your innocency, and mine owne, declaring that the matter was not yet growne to so despaired a case, as to be without hope of recouery, if *Leo* the tenth would of his naturall inclination to lenitie, vouchsafe his ayde thereto; here now as one that hath alwaies both offered, and wished for tranquility, that I may the better apply my selfe to more quiet, and more profitable exercise, whereas I had so vehemently turmoyled my selfe to this end, that in mightinesse and force, as well of words, as courage, I might suppress the insolencie of them, whom I perceiued to be farre vnequall to match with me, I did not only yeeld willingly, but with ioy also and thankfull minde, imbraced the request, as a most acceptable benefit, if it may proue according to our expectation.

In

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Luther  
will not  
recall any  
thing.

In this minde I come now (oh holy father) and falling prostrate at your feet, doe most humbly beseech you to grant your assistance herein, and to restraine (if it bee possible) the outrage of these flatterers, the very cankers of Vnity, though masking vnder the vizor of peace. But to wish mee to reuoke that which I haue written (most holy father) it booteth not for any man to hope for, vnlesse he be desirous rather to haue the matter to be more largely blown abroad.

He will  
not suffer  
the theewes  
to make  
lawes for  
interpre-  
ting Gods  
word.

Moreouer, I doe not allow these lawes concerning the interpretation of Gods word to be restrained to the Church of *Rome*, or tyed to any place, for as much as the word of God (which teacheth freedom of all things else) ought not to bee straightened, and abridged of her freedom. The two conditions reserued, there is else nothing but that I can both doe, and suffer: yea, will most willingly yeeld vnto: I doe late hate contention: I will challenge no man, and I will not bee challenged againe, but if I be teazed, I will not hold my tongue in my master Christ his behalfe,



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behalfe, for it is an easie matter for your holinesse to command silence, and quietnesse on both parts, the quarrels being summoned before you, and determined, which I haue alwaies desired earnestly to heare.

Beware therefore (my holy father *Lee*) He coun-  
that you hearken not to these enchanters, celleth  
which make you not a naturall man, but the Pope  
halfe a God, and would enduce you to be- not to  
leeue, that ye are able to command, and heare flat-  
exact whatsoeuer you list. It will not be terers.  
so, neither shall you preuaile, you are the  
seruant of seruants, and placed in the most  
dangerous estate of all others: Let them  
not beguile you, which imagine you to be  
the Lord of the World, which will not  
permit any man to be a Chrillian man;  
vnlesse he be subiect to your authoritie,  
which doe chatter and iangle, that you are  
of power to command in Heauen, in  
Hell, and in Purgatory. Those, euen those  
be your enemies, and seek the destruction  
of your soule, as the Prophet Esay doth  
witnesse, O my good people, such as doe  
praise thee, euen those doe deceiue thee.

They

*An Epistle to the Pope.*

They are out of the way, which doe extoll your maiestie aboue the Councell and vniuersal Church: They are out of the way which doe inuest you onely in the right of interpreting Scriptures, for such doe practise to establish in the Church all their owne impieties, vnder your name. And alas for woe, by the meanes of those persons, Sathan hath preuailed much in your predecessors. To be brieft, beleeue none of them that doe magnifie you, but such as do humble you, for this is the iudgement of God, *He hath throwne downe the mighty from their seate, and hath exalted the humble and meeke.* Behold what inequality there is betwixt Christ and his successors, when as they all notwithstanding will be accounted Vicars of Christ. And I feare much, lest many of them be his Vicars in deede a great deale too earnestly: for a Vicar is hee that doth present the person of his Prince being not in place. Now, if the Pope doe beare dominion whiles Christ is not present, nor resiant within his heart, what is he else, than the Vicar of Christ? But what manner of Church is that then else

What a  
Vicar is.

*An Epistle to the Pope.*

oll else, but a rude multitude without Christ?  
v- And what maner of Vicar is this else, but  
ay *Antechrist*, and an Idol? How much more  
of truly spake the Apostles, who named them-  
ra- selves the seruants of Christ being present,  
eir and not Vicars of Christ being absent.

a- Peraduenure, I shall be accounted a  
r- shamelesse fellow, that dare presume to  
ur teach so mighty a potentate, from whom  
of all others ought to be instructed, and from  
as whom all iudiciall Courts ought to fetch  
at definitiue sentence ( as your pestiferous  
ty clawbackes doe arrogantly vaunt ) but  
le I follow the example of *Bernard*, in his  
re Book entituled *De cōsideratione ad Eugenium*  
n a necessary Booke for all Popes to know  
c- by heart. Neither doe I take this vpon me  
e of any greedy desire to teach, but of duti-  
n full affection, in a pure and faithfull zeale,  
- which doth enforce vs to be afraid, euen  
f of the most plausible things in our neigh-  
e bours: and being altogether exercised in  
s the perils and profits of other men, will  
not admit any respect to bee had of the  
worthy or vnworthy : for in as much as  
I know, that your holinesse is troubled,  
and



*An Epistle to the Pope.*

and tossed at *Rome*, that is to say, in the maine sea of all sides enuironed about with infinite dangers, and that you swimme now in succourlesse waues miserably, as that you stand in neede of the meanest helpe of any your poorest brethren: I iudged it a point of no great absurditie, if I did lay aside the remembrance of your maiestie for a time, vntill I had executed the dutie of Loue. I will not flatter in so weighty and perillous a cause: in which doing, if I be not conceiued to be most friendly, and most humble vnto you, there is one that doth conceiue and iudge.

To conclude, because I would not seeme to come empty handed vnto your holinesse, I bring with me this little Treatise, published vnder your name, as a pledge of truce to be concluded, & of good successe: wherein you may somewhat conceiue in what kinde of studies I can, and am very desirous to employ my time, more fruitfully and commodiously: if I heretofore might, or hereafter may now conueniently be free from your wicked flatterers. The matter is small, if you regard the outward  
coate,

*An Epistle to the Pope.*

coate, but if you comprehend the thing is  
felfe, it is (if I be not deceiued) a most nota-  
ble patterne of a Christian life, briefly cō-  
piled. Neither haue I ought else being a  
poor man to gratifie your holinesse with-  
all, neither neede you any other present,  
than spirituall consolation wherewithall

I doe recommend my felfe wholly  
to your fatherhood, & holinesse.

Which I beseech Christ Iesu  
to preserue for euer.

Amen.

*At Wittenberge the sixt of September,  
in the yeere of our Lord, 1520.*

An Epistle to the Pope.

costs, but if you comprehend the thing is  
lost, it is a (small decision) a small loss.  
the purchase of a Christian life, which is  
piled. Neither have I ought else being a  
governor to grant you holiness with  
all other words you any other person  
that for small consolation whatsoever  
I do command my little wholly  
to you (holiness & holiness).  
Which I beseech Christ help  
to perfect for ever.  
Amen.

At Wittenberg the first of September  
in the year of our Lord, 1520.



I

**A Treatise of Martyne**  
Luther touching Christian  
liberty.



Any men haue beene of opinion that Christian faith is an easie matter, yea of them also not a few haue accompted it in the number of Vertues, even as a companion of vertue it self. And this haue they done, because they haue had no tryall thereof by any pꝛoofe, noꝛ haue at any time tasted of what force & power it is: where-as it cannot be possible that any man may bee able to write pithily, oꝛ vnderstand effectually the things that are written concerning the same truly, vnlesse being pinched at some one time oꝛ another with some crosse of tribulation, he hath felt the inward spirit thereof: But who so hath had but a meane taste of the same, can neuer possibly bee satisfied with writing, speaking, thinking, and hearing thereof. For it is a liuely spring vnto euerlasting

John 4.

living life, according as Christ calleth it in the fourth of John. ~~Wherein~~ <sup>Wherein</sup> my selfe, albeit I make no vaunt of my store, and withall doe acknowledge the weaknesse of mine imbecillity, yet doe neuerthelesse trust, that by meanes of sundry and greivous temptations wherewith I have bin turmoyled, I have attained no small dramme of Faith. And that I am there, of able to treat (though not so eloquent-ly, yet certes more substantially) than those literall and ouer subtill schoolemen have hitherto yet disputed, as men altogether ignorant in the things which themselves have written. To the end therefore I may discover a more easie way to the vnlettered to wade herein (to whose capacities I doe only apply my selfe) I doe set downe first these two propositions touching the freedome and bondage of the spirit.

The po-  
positions.

- 1 *A Christian man is a most free Lord of all, subiect to none.*
- 2 *A Christian man is a most dutifull servant of all, subiect to all.*

- Although

Although these two propositions seeme to be more contraries, yet when they shall be found to haue in them a certaine sweet agreement, they will auaille very much for our present purpose. For Saint Paul is the Authoz of them both, namely, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians the twelfth Chapter, Being otherwise free, I made my selfe seruant of all. And in the thirteenth to the Romans. Owe nothing to any man, but that ye loue one another. But loue is naturally dutifull, and humbly obedient to the thing that is loved. Euen so Christ, though Lord of all, yet being borne of a woman, was made vnder the law, both free altogether, and a seruant, at one selfe time in the shape of God, and in the shape of a seruant.

1 Cor. 12.

Rom. 13.

Let vs enter into some higher & more deepe consideration of those sayings. Man doth consist of two natures, to wit, spirituall, and corporall. In respect of the spirituall nature (which some doe tearme to be the soule) hee is called spirituall, inward, and of the new man: In respect of the corporall (which

C it

some



2 Cor 4.

(some call the flesh) hee is called the carnall, outward, and the old man. Of the which the Apostle in the second to the Corinthians, the fourth Chapter. Although our outward man be corruptible, yet our inward man is renewed day by day. So that it cometh to passe through this diversity, that in the Scriptures two contraries are affirmed of one selfe same man, because that these two men being within the same one man, doe keepe continuall battayle against each other, Whilst the flesh doeth couet against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, as in the Epistle to the Galathians the fifth Chapter.

Gala. 5.

In what  
things  
Christian  
liberty.

First therefore let vs examine the inward man, and see by what reason hee may bee made iust, free, and a true Christian, that is to say, spirituall, new, and an inward man. And it is certaine, that no externall thing at all (how glorious title soener it beare) is in any respect auayleable to the attayning of Christian righteousness, or freedom, as neyther of any value to the procu-

procuring of vnrpyghteousnesse or bondage, which is proued by a very easie demonstration. For what auayleth it to the soule, if the body bee in good lyking, health, and full of life : If it eate, drinke, and doe freely what it listeth, when as euen the most wicked abiectes, bondeslaues of all mischiefs, doe enjoy the same : Againe, what losse doeth the soule sustaine by sicknesse, imprisonment, scarcitie of fode, thirst, or by any other externall disadvantage, when as the very reprobate, & such as be cleare voyde of all good conscience, are molested with the same. None of all those externall casualties doe extende to the freedome, or bondage, of the soule. In like manner it shall bee to small purpose, if the body bee garnished with gay Coapes, such as Priests doe weare, or bee conuersant in holy sanctuaries, or bee exercised in holy Masse and Matens, or if it pray, fast, abstaine from certayne meats, or doe inure it selfe to what so euer exercise wrought and possible to be wrought by the body and

in the body. To the freedome and righteousness of the soule is requisite matter of farre greater importance, whereas those eternall things aforesaid, may happen vnto the most wicked, by practising of the which, they become no better than plaine hypocrites. Contrariwise, it shall nothing prejudice the soule, to haue the body clad with unhallowed garments, to frequent prophane places, to eat and drinke of all sorts of meat without choise, not to bleat out prayer by note, yea to passe ouer all those works aforesaid, which may bee performed by the very Hypocrites.

Gods  
word ne-  
cessary for  
the soule.

Woe it also that wee reiect all things, yea, euen speculations, meditations, and whatsoever may bee done by the endeavour of the soule, it profiteth nothing. One thing, yea and that onely and alone is needfull to the attainment of life, righteousness, and Christian liberty, which is the sacred word of **GOD** the Gospell of Iesu Christ, according to the Testimony of Christ  
him



himselfe in the eleuenth Chapter of  
**John.** I am the resurrection and life, *Iohn 11.*  
 hee that belceueth in me, shall not dye  
 for euer. And in the eighth Chapter  
 of **John.** If the Sonne make you free, *Iohn 8.*  
 you shall bee truly free. And in the  
 fourth Chapter of **Mathew.** Man liueth *Matth. 4.*  
 not by bread only, but by euery word that  
 proceedeth out of the mouth of God.  
 Let vs therefore take this for a strong  
 and an vndoubted Bulwarke, that the  
 soule may want all things except  
 the word of **G D D**, without the which  
 nothing in the world can preserue her  
 in safety: But hauing the word, wee  
 is rich, destitute of nothing, for  
 as much as the word of **G D D** is  
 the word of life, of light, of peace,  
 righteousness, saluation, ioy, free-  
 dome, wisdome, power, grace, glo-  
 ry, and inestimably the treasure in-  
 comparable of all goodnesse. And this  
 is it that moued the Prophet in all his  
 Orationary and in many other places, *David:*  
 with so many deepe sighes and gronings  
 to skriche out, and to call vpon the word

Famine of  
Gods  
word an  
horrible  
plague.  
Amos.

*Psal. 107.*

Which is  
the word  
of God.

*Rom. 1.*

of God. Again, neither is there any more horrible a plague of Gods wrath, than whiles he sendeth famine of hearing his word. As he speaketh in Amos: as neither is there any greater grace than if he spread abroad his word, as is specified in the 107 Psalm. He sent his word, & healed them, & delivered them from their destruction. Neither was Christ sent to any other ministry, then the ministry of the word, nor is the Apostolicall Bishopricke, and whole order Ecclesiasticall, called and instituted otherwise, than to the ministry of the word.

But thou wilt demand, what word of God is this, and after what manner must it be used, considering there bee so many words of God? I answer, the Apostle in the first to the Romanes doth expresse the same, namely, the Gospell of God concerning his sonne incarnate, crucified, risen againe, and glorified by the holy Ghost the sanctifier. For Christ hath preached, that is to say, hath sedde the soule, hath iustified, delivered, and saved the soule, if we beleue his doctrine,

for

for Fayth only is the safe and effectuall  
 vse of Gods word, as to the Romans the  
 tenth. If thou confesse with thy mouth,  
 and belecue with the heart, that G O D *Rom. 10.*  
 hath raysed him from the dead, thou shalt  
 be saued. And againe, The end of the law  
 is Christ, vnto righteousness to all them  
 that doe beleue. And to the Romans the  
 first, The iust man shall liue by his owne *Rom. 1.*  
 faith, for the word of God cannot be com-  
 prehended and embraced by any woꝝkes,  
 but by faith only. Euen so it is manifest,  
 that as the Soule hath need of the only  
 word, to obtaine righteousness and life, *Faith only*  
 euen so it is iustified by onely faith, and *iustificeth.*  
 no woꝝkes; for if it might be iustified by  
 any other meanes, then should it not  
 stande in neede of the word, and so conse-  
 quently no neede of faith. But this faith  
 cannot consist altogether with woꝝkes,  
 that is to say, if thou pꝛesume to be iusti-  
 fied together with woꝝkes, whatsoener  
 they be, for this were euen to halt on  
 both legges, to worship Baal, and to kisse  
 the hand, which of all other is abhomi-  
 nable, as witnesseth Iob. Therefore, *Iob.*  
 when



*Rom. 2.*

When thou beginnest to believe, thou doest learne withall, that all things in thee are altogether blameworthy, sinfull, and damnable, according to that saying of the Apostle in the second to the Romans, All haue sinned, and haue need of the glory of God. And to the Romans, 3. There is none that doth good, all haue declined out of the way, they are altogether become vnprofitable: for if thou know this once, thou shalt know that it is necessary for thee to hold fast Christ, that believing on him, who hath suffered for thee, and is risen againe, thou maiest be made another man through this faith, being made free from all thy Sinnes, and iustified by the merits of Iesu Christ onely.

*Rom. 10.*

Therefore, for as much as this sayth cannot beare dominion in any, but in the inward man, according to the testimony of Paul in the tenth to the Romans, With the heart we doe belecue vnto righteousness. And for as much as this faith only doth iustifie, it is euident that the inward man cannot in any wise be

be iustified, made free, and saued by any  
 externall worke or exercise, and that  
 worke whatsoeuer, auaille nothing there-  
 unto, as on the contrary through imple-  
 ty, and only vnbeliefe of the heart, man is  
 made guilty, and the bondslaue of sinne,  
 and not by any externall sinne or worke.  
 And therefore the first and principall care  
 of euery Christian man ought to bee in  
 this especially, that setting aside all vaine  
 confidence of worke, hee strengthen his  
 faith more and more, and by dailie increa-  
 sings grow in knowledge, not of worke,  
 but of Christ Iesu crucified for him, and  
 risen againe, as Peter in the last of his  
 first Epistle teacheth, for as much, as *1 Pet. ult.*  
 none other worke doth make a true Chri-  
 stian man. So Christ in the first of  
 John, when the Jewes asked a question  
 what they should doe to doe the worke of  
 God: excluding the multitude of worke,  
 wherewith he perceiued them to swell,  
 and past by in pride, did prescribe vnto  
 them one only rule, saying, This is the  
 worke of God, to beleue on him whom *John 9.*  
 he hath sent, for him God the father hath  
 sealed.

Faith a  
treasure in-  
estimable.

Mark. 16.

Rom. 10.

sealed. From hence right faith in Christ  
only proceeding, is a treasure inestimable,  
contayning in it selfe all saluation, and  
preseruing from all euill, as in the last of  
Marke, He that beleueth and is baptised,  
shall be saued, he that beleueth not, shall  
be damned, which treasure Esay inward-  
ly regarding, did in the tenth of his Pro-  
phery say, The decreed consumption or  
overfloweth with righteousness, and the  
Lord of hostes shall perfectly fulfill the  
thing that he hath determined in the mid-  
dest of the whole world, as if he had said,  
Faith which is a brieve and summary  
finnesse of the Law, shall replenish the  
beleuers with so great righteousness,  
that they shall not haue need of any other  
helpe to attaine righteousness: and the  
same both Paul testifie in the tenth to  
the Romanes, For with the heart wee be-  
leue vnto righteousness. But thou do-  
est aske by what meanes it cometh to  
passe, that faith only may iustifie, & giue  
such a treasure of so great goodnesse with-  
out works, seeing that y whole scriptures  
doe prescribe vnto vs so many works,

so



so many ceremonies, and so many lawes:  
 I do answer, aboue all things be mindfull  
 of this chiefly that hath bin spoken of be-  
 fore, to wit, y only faith without woorks  
 doth iustifie, doth deliuer, and doth saue,  
 which we will make moze manifest here-  
 after. In the meane time seale vp this,  
 that the whole Scripture of God is diuid-  
 ed into two branches, namely, command-  
 ments and promises. Indeed the cōman-  
 demēts do teach good things, but y things  
 that are taught by thē are not forthwith  
 performed, for they do pronounce what we  
 ought to do, but do not giue power to doe  
 the same, but are instituted to this end, to  
 discouer man to himself, by meanes wher-  
 of, man may know his own disability to-  
 wards the good, & so despaire of his owne  
 strength: and so for this cause they are called  
 the old Testament, and so they be indeed.  
 As for example, Thou shalt not couet, is a  
 Cōmandement, by the which we are con-  
 uinced all to be sinners, because man can-  
 not chouse but couet, whatsoeuer his ende-  
 uour be to the contrary. And therfore, that  
 he may not couet, & so cōsequently fulfil y  
 cōman-

The Scrip-  
 tures haue  
 cōman-  
 dements  
 and pro-  
 mises.

*Ofte.*

All the  
comman-  
dements  
be equaliy  
impossible  
to be ac-  
complish-  
ed by vs.

The Law  
must be fa-  
tisfied.

cōmandement, he is cōpelled to despaire of  
himselfe, & to seeke elsewhere for helpe of  
another, which he is not able to finde in  
himself, as *Dee* saith, Thy destruction  
cōmeth of thy selfe, O Israel, & thy health  
only frō me. The obseruatiō of which one  
cōmandement, is generall to be obserued  
in all y rest, for all y cōmandemēts are in  
all respects alike impossible vnto vs, & be-  
yond our reach. Now when man is taught  
his own weaknesse by y cōmandements, &  
thereby brought into perplexity, how hee  
may be able to accōplish y law, knowing y  
the law must be so of al parts accōplished,  
y no one tot so much, or title thereof may  
be pretermitted; otherwise in danger of e-  
ternall damnatiō irreconuerable, being the  
truly humbled, and embased to nought in  
his owne eyes, he findeth nothing in him-  
selfe, whereby hee may bee iustified, and  
come to saluation. *Loe*, here commeth the  
other branch of the Scripture, namely,  
the promises of God, which doe bring the  
glad tidings of the glory of God, & speak  
on this wise, If thou wilt fulfill the Law,  
and not couet, as the Law requireth, be-  
hold

hold here a remedy, Beleeue in Christ, in whom be promised vnto thee, grace, righteousness, peace, freedom, and in whom thou shalt haue all things if thou beleeue, and without whom thou shalt lack all things if thou dost not beleeue, for that which is impossible to thee in all the works of the Law (which be many, and yet vnauayleable to saluation) thou shalt very easily, and briefly atchieue and bring to passe through faith, because God the father hath so established all things in faith, that whosoever haue faith, may possesse all things, and whosoever lacketh faith, may possesse nothing, for God hath shut vp all things vnder vnbeleefe, that he might haue mercy on all. On this wise the promises of God doe giue freely vnto vs, that which the commandements doe exact of vs perforce, and doe fullfill that, which the law doth straitly command: that so all things may belong vnto God only, as well the commandements, as also the performance of the same. Onely God commandeth, only God performeth, and therefore Gods promises haue relation to

We can  
compleish  
all by  
faith.

Rom. I.

God only  
commandeth,  
and  
performeth.

W. 7. 0. V  
2. 3. 9.  
4. 2. 3.  
5.



to the new Testament, yea rather are the new Testament it selfe.

The first  
arme of  
faith.

For as much therefore as the promises of God be holy wordes, true, iust, peaceable, and full of all goodnesse, it commeth to passe, that the soule which doth cleaue stedfastly to the same, with an vnshaken faith, is become so vnited vnto them, yea is also wholly so swallowed vp of them, that it doth not only partake thereof, but is thoroughly gorged, and made drunken with all the power and force of the same: for if the touching of Christ did giue health, how much more shall a very tender feeling of the word in the spirit: nay rather a thorough swallowing down of the word, communicate to the soule all things that appertain to the word. By this meanes therefore, the soule through faith onely without workes, beleeuing in the word of God, is iustified, sanctified, pacified, deliuered, and replenished with all goodnesse, and it is truly made the daughter of God, as it is said in the first of John, He gaue the power to be made the sonnes of God, euen them that doe beleue in his name.

John. 1.

But

By this it may be easily perceived, from  
whence faith hath received so great force,  
and why neither any one, nor all good  
works are comparable unto her, because  
no worke can cleane fast unto Gods word,  
nor be within the soule, wherein faith only,  
& the word, do reigne & govern, for such as  
the word is, such becommeth the soule, made  
by force of the word, even as a fiery plate  
of iron doth glimmer-like unto fire, by  
meanes of uniting the fire and the plate  
together, so that it is manifest, that to a  
Christian man faith sufficeth only for all,  
and that he needeth no works to be iusti-  
fied by. Now if he need no works, the also  
bee needs not the law: if he have no need  
of the law, surely he is then free from the  
law. So this also is true. The law is not  
made for the righteous man, and this is  
y<sup>e</sup> same Christian liberty. Our faith which  
doth worke in vs, not to be idlers, nor to  
give our selues to lust and euill life, but  
that wee bee not tyed to a necessity of ob-  
serving the law, or doing works, to y<sup>e</sup> end  
to obtayne righteousness, or saluation ther-  
by. Let this be the first arme of faith, & let

Another  
arme of  
faith.

The grea-  
test honor

The grea-  
test re-  
proach.

Perfect o-  
bedience.

be see another, for this also is the duty of  
faith, that it reverence him on whom it  
beleeueth, with a most godly and earnest  
bent affection, to wit, that it accompt him  
true, & worthy to be beléued, for there is  
no honoꝝ like vnto the opiniõ conceiued of  
truth and righteousness, wherewith we do  
most highly esteeme of him whom we doe  
beléue, for what are we able to ascribe to  
any person, moze thã truth, righteousness, &  
goodnesse, of all parts perfect and abso-  
lute: Contrariwise, it is a detestable re-  
proach, to conceiue a secret opinion of a  
man to be false, faithlesse, and wicked. So  
the soule, as long as it belseneth stedfast-  
ly in God that maketh the promise, doth  
accompt him true & righteous, than which  
opinion can nothing be moze acceptable  
to God. This is the highest honoꝝ of God,  
to ascribe vnto him truth, iustice, & what-  
soeuer else ought to bee yeelded to him  
whom we doe beléue: this man yeeldeth  
himselſe ready to execute all his will: this  
man doth sanctifie his name: this man sub-  
sereth himselſe to be exercised, according  
to the will & pleasure of God, because clea-  
ning



uing firmly to his promises, he doubteth not but that he is true, iust, wise & will do, dispose, and gouerne all things for the best: but is not such a soule by the same his faith most humbly obedient to God in all things: what commandement remayneth then, which this obedience hath not sufficiently satisfied: what fulnesse can be more absolute, than all manner of humble obedience: but this obedience cometh not by workes, but by faith only, and beleauing the promises. On the other side, what Rebellion: what impiety: what greater reproach can there bee vnto God, thā not to beleue him wth he promiseth: for what is this else, than either to make God a lier: or to be doubtfull of his truth: that is to say, to ascribe truth to himselfe, and to condemne God of vanity & lying: wherein doth he not deny God, and make to himselfe an image of himselfe in his owne heart: what an ayde deeds (I pray you) wrought in this vnbeleefe: though they seeme neuer so Angelicall, or Apostolicall: And therefore very well did God conclude all, not in wrath & lust, but in vnbeleefe,

Rebellion.

liefse, lest such as saine that they haue  
 fulfilled the law through chaste and meek  
 works of y<sup>e</sup> law (such be vertues humane  
 and ciuill) should presume vpon their sal-  
 uation, when as being shut vp in the sinne  
 of vnbeleefe, they must either seeke for  
 mercy, or to be damned through iustice.  
 But whē God doth see truth to be ascribed  
 vnto him, & that he is worshipping with the  
 faith of our heart, which is as much hono-  
 as he desireth, then doth hee honour vs  
 againe, & imputeth vnto vs truth & righte-  
 ousnes for this faithes sake: for faith, in  
 yelding to God his own, doth work truth  
 & righteousness, and therfore God doth re-  
 cōpence our righteousness again with glori-  
 ry, for it is true and iust, y<sup>e</sup> God is true &  
 iust. So also, to ascribe vnto God iustice &  
 truth, & to cōfesse y<sup>e</sup> same, is to be true and  
 iust. To this effect we read in the 1 of the  
 Kings, the 5 Chapter, Whosoever doth  
 honor me, I will glorify him: and whoso-  
 uer doth despise me, shal be naught set by.  
 The same also pronounceth Paul to the  
 Romans, the 4 Chap. That to Abraham  
 his owne faith was imputed vnto righte-  
 ousnes,

God doth  
 honour  
 them that  
 beleue  
 on him,

1 King 5.

Rom. 4.

ousnes, because through the same he gaue  
 unto God y<sup>e</sup> glozy most absolutely, & that  
 if we beleue, faith shal be imputed for the  
 same cause vnto vs for righteousness. The  
 third arme of faith, which is a fewell inc.  
 estimable, is this, that it coupleth the soule  
 with Christ, euen as the spouse with her  
 husband. By which sacrament (as Paul  
 teacheth) Christ & the soule are made one  
 flesh. If they be one flesh, then is there a  
 true marriage betwixt them, yea, rather, a  
 marriage of all other most perfect, abso-  
 lutely accomplished betwixt them (for the  
 marriages betwixt man & wife be but flen-  
 der figures of this vnion) wherupon it fol-  
 loweth, that all things are comon betwixt  
 the, as well good as bad, so that whatso-  
 euer Christ doth possesse, the faithfull soule  
 may boldly presume vpon the same, & tri-  
 umph ouer them, as though they were his  
 owne. Likewise, whatsoever appertaineth  
 to the soule, the same may Christ challenge  
 vnto himselfe, as if they were his owne.  
 Let vs compare these together, & wee shall  
 perceiue inestimable treasure. Christ is  
 full of all grace, life, and sauing health the

The third  
 arme of  
 faith.

The vni-  
 ting of the  
 soule vnto  
 her spouse



Behold in-  
estimable  
treasures.

soule is fraught full of all sinne, death, and damnation. Now let faith come betwixt these two, and it shall come to passe, that Christ shall be loaden with sinne, with death, and with hell, but vnto the soule shall be imputed grace, life, and saluation, for it becometh Christ, if hee bee the husband, to accept, and to yntly possesse the things appertaining to his spouse, and withall, to communicate to his spouse the things that appertaine to his possession, for he that giueth vnto her his body, and himselfe wholly, how can it be, but that he must giue her all things else withall: and he that is possessed of the spouse, how doth he not withall possesse also the things appertaining to the spouse? Here cometh loe to the view, a most sweet spectacle, not onely of communion, but of a comfortable battell of victorie of saluation and redemption.

For in as much as Christ is God and Man, and such a person, as neuer yet sinned, neuer dyeth, nor is damned, yea such a one, as neither can sinne, nor dye, nor be damned, and that his iustice

his life, his saving health, is unbanquishable, everlasting and omnipotent, when as (I say) such a person doth communicate to himselfe, yea rather doth wedde (as his owne) the sinne, death, and damnation of his spouse through the weddid Kyng and union of Fayth. And that the case now standeth none otherwise, then as if they were his owne proper peculiar, even as if himselfe had sinned, were travelling, dying, and descending into hell, to bring all things in subjection: And that sinne, death, and hell could not swallow him, being all of necessity cleane swallowed up in him by a miraculous conflict (for his righteousness is greater than the sinnes of all men: his life surmounteth in power all death, his saving health is more victorious than all hell) even so the faithfull soule, through the assurednesse of her faith in Christ her husband, is delivered from all sinnes, made safe from death, garded from hell, and endowed with the everlasting righteousness, life, & saving health of her husband Christ. On this wise Christ doth com-

ple her vnto himselfe a glorious Spouse without spotte and wrinkle, cleansing her with the fountaine in the word of life, that is to say, through faith, the word of life, of righteousnesse, and of saluation. Euen so doth he marry her vnto himselfe in faith, in mercy, and compassions, in iustice and indgement, as he testifieth in the second of *Isa.*

*Use 1.*

The Malestie of this royall marriage.

Wherefore who is able to value the reialtie of this mariage accordingly? who is able to comprehend the glorious riches of this grace? where this rich and leuiting husband Christ doth take vnto wife this poore and wicked Harlot, redeeming her from all euils, and garnishing her with all his owne Jewels. For it is impossible now, that her owne finnes should destroy her, when they are laid vpon Christs shoulders, and swallowed vp in him, when also it doth now possesse the same righteousnesse in her husband Christ, of the which she may now embolden her selfe, and pzeume vpon them as in her owne right against all her owne finnes, against death and hell, and



and may with confidence encounter the enemy, and say, if I haue sinned, yet my sweet husband Christ, in whom I doe beleue, hath not sinned, all whose riches are mine, and all mine are his: As in the Canticle of Salomon. My welbeloued husband to mee, and I vnto him. This is that Paul speaketh of in the first to the Corinthians the fiftenth Chapter. Thank- *Cor. 1. the 15. chapter.* ed be God which hath giuen vs victory through Iesus Christ our Lord: Euen the victory over sin & death. And in the same place he bringeth in, that sinne is the sting of Death, but the force of sin is the law.

Hereof therefore you doe vnderstand againe, what the cause is that faith is so highly commended: that it is able alone to fulfill the law, & to iustifie without any helpe of workes: For thou dost perceiue how the first commandment, Thou shalt worship one God only, is now accomplished by Faith only: For if thou were nothing els frō the sole of the foot, to y crown of the head but good workes, yet shouldst thou not be iust, nor shouldst thou worship God, nor fulfill the first commandment,

For what cause faith is so much esteemed.

The true worship of God.

ment, for as much as God cannot be worshipped, vntlesse the praise and glory of all truth and all goodnesse be truly ascribed vnto him : but this cannot works bring to passe, only the faith of the heart must atchieue this. For wee doe glorify and confesse him to be true, not by working, but by believing. In this respect Faith only is the righteousness of a Christian man, and the accomplishment of all the Commandments : For hee that doth accomplish the first Commandment, doth fulfill all the rest with no labour at all. For works, being things without sence, cannot glorify God, though they may be practised to Gods glory, being toynded with faith. But wee, at this present, enquire not the works wrought, of what quality they be : but we doe enquire of the person that maketh y<sup>e</sup> works, that glorifieth and bringeth forth the works. And the same is the very Faith of the heart, the head and substance of all our righteousness : wherupon it followeth, that the doctrine that teacheth the satisfaction of the law by means of works, is

Faith maketh works

is blinde and perillous, for as much as befoze all woꝝks, it behoueth that all the Commandements bee accomplished, and that woꝝks doe folloꝝ after this fulfilling of the law, as wee shall heare moze at large afterwards.

But to the end wee may moze manifestly behold this grace which this our inward man doth possesse in Christ, it is to be obserued, that in the old Testament, God did sanctify to himselfe the first borne of euery mankinde, & the first birth was wonderfully esteemed, surmounting all other in double honour: Namely, in the Priesthood, and in the kingdom, for the first begotten brother was Priest & Lord of all other: vnder which shadow Christ was prefigured vnto vs, the true and only first begotten of God the Father, & of the virgin Mary, and the true King and Priest: but not according to the flesh and the woꝝld, for his kingdom is not of this woꝝld, he reigneth and sanctifieth in spirituall and heavenly things which are righteousness, truth, wisdom, peace, saluation, &c. Not as though all things of this woꝝld

and

The prerogative of the first birth.

Whereof the kingdom of Christ doth consist.



and of hell, were not also in subiection vnto him (otherwise how could he preserve and defend vs from them all) but because his kingdome doth consist neither in them nor of them. Euen so neither his Priesthood doth consist in outward pomps of apparell and gestures (such as the humane Priesthood of Aaron was, and as our ecclesiasticall Priesthood is at this day) but in spirituall things, by the which he doth make intercession for vs vnto God the father in heauen, by a certaine invisible office, and there doth offer vp himselfe, and performeth all things that behoued a Priest to doe. Euen as Paul doth describe him by a figure of Melchisedech in his Epistle to the Hebrews. Neither doth he onely pray, and make intercession for vs, but also doth teach & instruct vs, inwardly in spirit with the liuely doctrine of his spirit, which two are y peculiar properties of a Priest, which also is figured in carnall Priests by prayers & visible preachings.

And euen as Christ by his first birth did obtaine these two dignities, so doth he impart and communicate the same to eue-

ry

Christs  
Priest-  
hood.

Priestly  
office.  
Paul to  
the He-  
brues.

How it is  
to be ta-  
ken that  
faithfull  
Christians  
be Priests.

ry his faithfull spouse, by the right of the  
 foresaid marriage, whereby they are all spou-  
 ses, whosoever are espoused to y husband.  
 And hereof commeth it, that we all that  
 beleue in Christ are Priests and kings in  
 Christ, as in the first of Peter the second  
 Chapter, You be a chosen kindred, a peo-  
 ple of adoption, a kingly priesthood, and a  
 priestly kingdome, to the end you should  
 shew forth his power, who hath caled you  
 from darknesse, into his maruellous light:  
 which two are thus to be taken.

1 Pet. 2.

First as concerning the kingdome, e-  
 uery faithfull Christian through Faith  
 is so aduanced aboue all other things, that  
 in spirituall power he is become Lord o-  
 uer all, so that none of all the creatures  
 can doe him any harme at all: Nay rather  
 all things are made subiect vnto him, and  
 compelled to serue for his safety, accor-  
 ding to the testimony of Paul in the right  
 to the Romans. All things doe worke  
 together to the elect to good. Likewise  
 in the first to the Corinthians, the third  
 Chapter. All things are yours, whether it  
 be life or death, things present, or things

Christian  
kings.

Rom. 8.

1 Cor. 3.

Note.

The spiri-  
tuall king-  
dome.

to come, but you are Christs. Not that  
to euery Christian, all p<sup>r</sup>æminence is gi-  
uen in bodily power to possesse and rule o-  
uer all things (which furious frensie hath  
bewitched many our Prelates euery  
where) for this dominion is proper to  
Kings, Princes, and Potentates of the  
earth: whereas the very vse and manner  
of our liues, doth sufficiently teach vs,  
that we are subiect to all, that we doe en-  
dure many tribulations, yea, & euen die y<sup>e</sup>  
death. Nay, rather, by how much a Chri-  
stian doth excell in Christianity, by so  
much the more is he subiect vnto all incon-  
ueniences, verations, and deaths, as wee  
may easily see in the very flower of y<sup>e</sup> first  
borne Christ himselfe and all his holy bre-  
thren. This power is spirituall, which  
doth beare dominion euen in the midst  
of enemies, and is mighty euen amidst  
the very tortures, which is nothing else  
in effect, but that power is made perfect  
in weaknesse, and that in all things I  
may make gaine for my safety: insomuch,  
that the crosse and death it selfe may bee  
compelled to serue for my behoofe, and to  
worke



wozke my saluation: and this is that high and notable dignify, yea, that true & omnipotent power, the spirituall kingdome, wherein nothing is so good, nothing so bad, which shall not woꝝke to my good, so that I beleue. And yet haue I need of nothing (sithens only faith doth suffice to saluation) but that faith may in the same exercise her foꝝce, & the dominion of her liberty. Behold now this is that inestimable power and liberty of Christians.

So also we be not only most free kings of all other, but we be Priests also foꝝ euer, which doth farre surpasse all kingdomes: We be Priests foꝝ euer. Foꝝ through our Priesthood we are made woꝝthy to appeare befoꝝe God, to plead and pray foꝝ other men, & one to instruct the other the things that are of God. Foꝝ these be the offices peculiar vnto Priests, which can in no wise be committed to any vnableuer. Such a prerogative hath Christ obtained foꝝ vs, that as ioyntbrethren, coheires, and ioyntkings, so also we should be vnto him ioyntpriests, presuming boldly with confidence through the spirit of Faith to preach vnto the presence

All things  
euill to  
the vnbe-  
leeuer.

sence of God, and to cry vnto him Abba  
Father, and to pray for each other, and to  
doe all things y<sup>e</sup> we see to be executed & fi-  
gured by the visible and corporall function  
of the Priests. But vnto the vnbeleuer  
nothing serueth or worketh vnto good, but  
hee is become seruant of all other, to  
whom all things turne vnto euill, because  
he doth wickedly employ all his endeavor  
for his owne behoufe, and not to the glory  
of God. And by this meanes he is neither  
Priest but prophane, whose prayer tur-  
neth vnto sinne, noz doth appeare before  
God, because God doth not heare sinners.  
Wherefore who is able to comprehend the  
preheminance of Christiā dignity? which  
thzough her own kingly power executeth  
dominion ouer all things, ouer death, life,  
sinne, &c. and which thzough her priestly  
glory is able to work all things in y<sup>e</sup> sight  
of God, because God doth bring to passe y<sup>e</sup>  
things for the which he doth pray & wish,  
as it is written, He shall worke the will  
of them that feare him, & shall heare their  
petitions, & shall saue them, To this glory  
surely is no possible accesse by working.  
but

but onely by faith and beltefe.

By the premisses may euery man easily perceiue, by what meanes a Christian man is free from all, and Lord ouer all: so that to become iust and saued, he shall not need any works at all, but through faith only obtaineth all those things sufficiently: who if he would be so mad, as to presume to be made a iust, a free, and a safe Christian, by force of any good work, he should sorely lose his faith forthwith, together with all his good works, which folly is aptly moralized in that fable of Esop, where the Dogge swimmeth in the water, & carrying flesh in his mouth, deluded with the shadow of the same flesh glittering in the water, whiles gaping with open mouth, he snatcheth after the shadow, he both loseth the true flesh, and the shadow withall.

Here you will aske of me, If all be Priests that bee in Christs Church: by what title then may they (whom wee call commonly Priests now) be discerned from Lay men? I doe answer: There is a great injury committed

The liberty of Christians.



mitted against these words, to witte, Priest, Clarke, Spirituall, Ecclesiasticall, whiles they be translated from all the rest of the Christians, and be assigned to these few, which through euill custome are termed Church men: For holy scripture doth make no difference betwixt them, sauing that it entitleth them by the names of Ministers, Seruants, and Stewards, which doe now haunt themselves to be Popes, Bishoppes, and Lords, which ought to minister to others in preaching the word, to teach the faith of Christ and Christian liberty: For albeit this be true, that wee be all Priests indifferently, yet can wee not all, nor yet ought we all minister & teach publicquely, though we were all able to doe so: For so doth Paul teach in his first to the Corinthians, the fourth Chapter. Let men so esteeme of vs, as ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the mysteries of God.

2 Cor. c. 4.

To what  
issue the  
ministry  
Ecclesiastical  
is  
come,

But this Stewardship is now enhaunced vnto so mighty a Potentate & pompe of power, and vnto a certaine terrible tyrannie, that no kingdomes of the Gentiles,

files, ne yet any Emppres of the whole world are not able to countervaille the same in flatlinesse. As though lay people were a certaine somewhat besides and no Christians at all. Through which peruerfenesse it is come to passe, that the true knowledge of Christian grace, Christian faith, and Christian liberty, yea of Christ himselfe, is come wholly to utter ruine, whiles, in the meane space, an importable clogge and intolerable bondage of mens workes and traditions are crawled vp in his place, and we (according to Ieremies lamentations) are become vassall's of the most vilest varlett's of the world, which doe abuse our misery to worke all infamous fithinesse, and shamefull reproaches of their beauly licentiousnesse.

But to returne to our purpose againe. I suppose that by the foresaid demonstrations it is made manifest, that it sufficeth not to a true Christian man to preach the workes, life, and doctrine of Christ, after an historicall manner, and utter the same, as in telling of tales, as though

How  
Christ  
ought to  
be pre-  
ached.

to know them to bee patternes of framing out liues, were enough (like as they vse to preach which are now accounted the best) much lesse if it bee vtterly concealed, and insteade thereof mens constitutions and traditions bee taught to supply the place. There bee some now a dayes, and they not a few, which to this purpose doe preach and teach Christ, that they may moue the affections of the people to bewaile the passion and torments which Christ suffered, and to bee displeased against the Jewes, and such other childish and fond matters of no great importance. But Christ ought to be preached to this end, that faith in him may encrease, that it may appeare, that it is not enough, that there is a Christ, but that hee may bee a Christ (which is a Saviour) vnto thee and vnto me: And that he doth work the same in vs, which is mentioned of him, & is agreeable to the name whereby hee is named: which faith springeth, flourisheth, and is preserved by this, if the preaching doe notifie the cause wherefore Christ came,



came, what he brought with him, what he gaue, and to what vse and purpose hee is to be embraced. And this commeth to passe, where Christian liberty (which we doe attaine by him) is truly taught: and by what meanes all wee Christians are Kings and Priests: wherein also wee be Lords ouer all: and vpon what this our affiance (that whatsoeuer wee doe is well pleasing and acceptable to GOD) is grounded, as I haue said befoze.

For whose heart hearing these things will not melt for very ioy, and waxe ransomed in loue of Christ, hauing receiued so great a consolation: to the which loue hee can neuer possibly attaine by any lawes or woorkes at all: what is hee that can hurt such a heart, or may appall the same with feare? If conscience of sinne doe rush vpon him, or horroz of death amaze him, loe, it is ready to trust in the Lord, nor is afraid for any such euill noyse, nor is disquieted, vntill it do despise the enemies, for it beleaueth that Christs righteousness is become his

The fruit  
of true  
preaching

owne righteousness, and that his sinne is now no longer his owne, but Christs sinne. But it behoueth that all sinne bee swallowed vp at the very sight of Christ, through the faith of Christ, as hath bene declared before, and learne now with the Apostle, to treade vpon, and triumph ouer sinne and death, and to say, Death, where is thy sting? Death, where is thy victory? the sting of Death is sinne, but the power of sinne is the Law. God be thanked, who hath giuen vs victory through Iesus our Lord, for death is swallowed vp through the conquest, not of Christ onely, but our owne also, because it cometh to passe by our Faith, that the conquest is made ours, and that in the same wee doe overcome.

Let this suffice touching the inward man, touching his freedome, & touching the principall righteousness of Faith, which neither neede thralles nor workes, which will turne to his destruction that dare presume to be iustified by them. Now let vs returne to the other part, to witte, the outward man: For in this treatise

the answer shall be made to all them, who being offended with the word of Faith, and with the things that haue bene spoken of before, doe reply on this wise against vs. If Faith doe accomplish all things, and if Faith bee onely and alone sufficient vnto righteousness, to what end then are wee commanded to doe good deedes? we may goe play vs then, and worke no working at all, being furnished sufficiently with faith, I doe answer, Not so yee vngodly, not so. In deede this matter would euen so fare, as you say, if we were perfectly and altogether the inward and spirituall men: which wee cannot bee in any wise, before the last day at the rising againe of the dead. So long as wee be clothed with this mortall flesh, wee doe but beginne and procede outward in our course towards perfection, which will bee consummated in the life to come. And for this cause, the Apostle in the eight to the Romanes, doth call this the first

The demand of them which doe not conceiue Luther, yea rather which doe not conceiue what faith is.

Rom. 8.

¶

Spirit,



From  
whence  
works  
take their  
beginning

spirit we shall receive in the life to come. To this belongeth that whereof we spake before, namely, that a Christian man is servant of all, and subiect to all, for in this that hee is free, hee worketh nothing, but in this, that he is a servant, hee worketh all things. Now let vs see how these two will stand together. Albeit man bee sufficiently iustificed by faith in the inward Man Spiritually, as I sayd before, enjoying all that hee ought to haue, sauing that hee must by daily encreasinge enlarge this same faith, and riches of grace, vntill he be vnclothed of his flesh, yet remayneth still in this mortall life, vpon the face of the earth, wherein he must of very necessity nourish his owne body, and be conuersant amongst men. And euen here now works doe begin to take their entrance. Here we may not giue our selues to idlenesse. Here now we must apply our selues earnestly to exercise this body with fastings, watchings, labours, and other moderate disciplines, to bring it in subiection to the spirit,

spirit, that it may become obedient to faith, and conforme it selfe to the inward man, & y<sup>e</sup> it rebell not, noz hinder the spirit, following therein his owne naturall inclination, if it be not otherwise tamed: for the inward man being alike fashioned vnto God, and created after the image of God, thzough faith, is both ioyfull, and comfortable, for the loue he hath to Christ, in whom he is endued with so many good things, whereupon in this only doth it occupy it selfe, namely, to serue the Lord with a free loue, with ioy, and thanks.

The only  
worke of  
the in-  
ward man.

Now whiles it is exercised in this course, behold in her owne flesh it findeth a contrary will, which trauelleth altogether to serue the world, and to seeke the things that are her owne, which the spirit of Faith cannot away withall, noz is able to endure it, and therefore with valiant courage attempteth to subdue and tame this rebellious will, as Paul witnesseth in the seuenth to the Romans, I am delighted with the Law of God in mine inward man, but I see another Law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my minde,

minde, & leading me captiue into the law of sinne. And in another place, I do chastise my body, & bring it into subiection, lest whiles I preach to others, I my selfe may be found a castaway. And in the fifth to the Galath. They that are of Christ haue crucified the flesh, and the concupiscences thereof.

Galath. 5.

Of what minde wee ought to be in doing good works.

But neither we may do these workes in any wise, being of the opinion that man may bee iustified through them in the sight of God. For this false opinion is not tolerable in the eye of Faith, which Faith is the only righteousness before God. But in these workes wee must bee of the minde, so to bring the flesh into subiection, and to cleanse the euill concupiscences thereof, that it may not bend the view of the eye to any thing else, than to the mortifying of euill concupiscence and lust: For when the soule is washed cleane through faith, and made the deareling of Christ, it would also desire that all things else, yea, and her owne body chiefly might be purged together withall, to the end all things in her might



might loue, and glorie God together, whereby it cometh to passe, that man through an enforcing necessity of the flesh, may not giue himselfe to idlenesse, & for that cause is constrained to doe many good things, to the end hee may bring his body into subiection. And yet these works are not of such power, as to bee able to worke mans iustification before God. But man of a very pure loue, doth worke the same, to the seruice and obedience of God, beholding in them nothing else than Gods good will, vnto the which he would most willingly and dutifully yeeld alhumane obedience in all things.

By this meanes every man may easily direct himselfe, how he ought most orderly (as the saying is) and most communiously attemper his owne body, for hee shall fast so much, watch and labour so much, as shall seeme most expedient, for the taming of the wantonnesse and licentiousnesse of his body. But those that doe vnaunt to be iustified by works, doe regard not y<sup>e</sup> mortification of y<sup>e</sup> flesh, and the lusts thereof, but the works themselves, being of

opinio,

How the  
body  
ought to  
be cha-  
stised.  
Note.

opinio<sup>n</sup>, that if they do very many, & great good deeds, they are thereby in good case, & are become iust therewith: sometime hurting the bzaines, and destroying nature utterly, or at least making it vnprofitable. And this is a wonderful folly, & grosse ignorance of Christian life, and of Christian faith, to haue a will to bee iustified and saued by works without faith.

A notable  
similitude.

Gen. 2.

But to the end that which we haue said may moze easily be conceiued, let vs make demonstration therof by similitudes. The works of a Christian man being iustified and saued through his owne faith, by the mere and free mercy of God, ought to bee of none other value and estimation, than the workes of Adam and Eue, and all their childezen should haue bin in Paradise if they had neuer sinned, of whom God spake in the second of Genesis on this wise, God did place man, whom he created, into Paradise, that hee might worke and manure the same. But God created Adam iust and perfect, and without sinne, so that he should not haue need to bee iustified and made perfect by any his owne worke,

worke, endeavour, and safe keeping. But to the end he should not be idle, God enioyned him this worke, to manure Paradise, and to keepe it, which worke had bin truly most free, wrought in respect of nothing, but of Gods good pleasure only, and not to procure righteousness thereby, wherewith he was fully endued already, and which also should haue bin ioynly in the creation of vs all.

To the same effect bee the workes of the faithfull beleuer, who through his owne faith being restored againe into Paradise, and created againe of new, needeth no workes to become, or made iust thereby. But because he should not be idle, but manure his owne body, and keepe it, he must doe such workes of freedom in respect of Gods good will onely, saying that is not yet fully created againe anew with perfect faith and lone, which becometh to be increased daily, yet not by force of workes, but of their owne strength. Take yet another example. An holy Bishop consecrating a Church, Bishopping childzen, or executing some other parcell of

Faith doth  
restore in-  
to Para-  
dise.

Another  
example:

of



of his function, is not himselſe conſecrated a Biſhop by force of thoſe exerciſes, nay rather unleſſe he had bin a conſecrated Biſhop beſore, none of al theſe woꝝks could haue beene ſo any purpoſe, but accompliſhed rather childiſh, altogether fooliſh and apiſh. Euen ſo a Chriſtian man, being firſt conſecrated by his owne faith, doth woꝝke good woꝝks indeed, yet is hee made thereby neuer a deale the more holy, oꝝ the more a Chriſtian, ſoꝝ this is the woꝝk of faith only, yea rather, unleſſe hee did firſt beleue, and were a Chriſtian beſore, all his woꝝks would not be woꝝth a ſtraw, but rather very wicked, and damnable finnes.

Two notable ſayings.

And ſoꝝ this cauſe theſe two ſayings be true, namely, Good woꝝkes doe not make a good man, but a good man doth make the woꝝkes to be good. And euill woꝝkes doe not make an euill man, but an euill man doth make the woꝝkes to be euill, ſo that it becometh alwayes, that the ſubſtance oꝝ perſon be good firſt, beſore all good woꝝks, and that good woꝝks follow them by oꝝder, and proceed from a good

good person, as Christ himselfe witnesseth. An euill tree doth not bring good fruit, and a good tree doth not bring euill fruit. For it is evidently knowne by experience, that the fruit doth not beare the tree, and that the tree doth not grow in the fruit, but contrariwise, the trees doe beare the fruits, and the fruit doth grow in the trees. Therefore, as it is necessary that the tree bee first before the fruit, and that the fruit doth not make the trees good or euill: But contrarily, such as the tree is, such is the fruit, so is it necessary, that the person, or man himselfe be either good or badde first, before hee make a good or bad worke. and that his workes make him neither good nor badde, but the man himselfe maketh his owne workes good or badde.

Semblable hereunto may wee see in Another all occupations. An euill house or a good example. house doth not make an euill or a good Carpenter, but a good or bad Carpenter maketh a good or badde house. And so generally in all kindes of manuall occupations

Only faith  
iustificeth.

ons and sciences, no peece of woꝝke doth make the Artificer good oꝝ bad, but such as the Artificer is, such woꝝke maketh he: even so fareth it in the case of mē's woꝝks. Such as the person is either in faith oꝝ in vnbelæse, such is his woꝝk, if either done in faith, and so good, oꝝ done in vnbelæse, & so euil. But contrariwise, it is not so, to wit, such as the woꝝke is, such is the person, made in faith oꝝ vnbelæse, for as woꝝkes doe not make a man to be a belæuer, so neither doe they make a man righteous. But faith, as it maketh man belæuing and righteous, so doth it make his woꝝks to be good. For as much therefore as woꝝks doe not iustifie any man, and that it becometh man to be righteous before he woꝝke any good woꝝke: it appeareth most manifestly, that faith onely by the mere mercy of God through Christ Iesu in his word, doth make woꝝthy, and sufficiently iustifie, and saue the person: and that a Christian man needeth no woꝝke noꝝ law at all, thereby to attaine saluation, for that through faith hee is free from all law, and doth freely woꝝke all things



things that he worketh of his owne mere good will, respecting therein neither profit, nor saluation, but only the good will of God, for as much as he is now already fully replenished, and made safe by the grace of God through his owne faith.

Even so no good worke availeth to righteousness and saluation to the unbelieuing person. On the other side, no euill worke maketh him euill or damnable, but his owne unbelæfe, which both maketh the tree euill, and withall, maketh the workes euill and damnable, whereupon in this, that any person is made good or badde, he doth not receiue this being good or badde by works, but this his good or euill taketh beginning from the roote of faith or unbelæfe, as the wise man recozeth, The beginning of sin is to fall from God, which is in effect, to be unbelæuing. And Paul in the 11 to the Hebrewes, 1c Heb. 11: behooueth him that cometh to God, to beleeue. The same also speaketh Christ, Either make the tree good, and the fruit thereof good, or make the tree euill, and

F the

The vnbelieuing person is not made euill by works.

Works  
do make a  
man good,  
but that is  
in the  
sight of  
men.  
*Matth 7.*

The origi-  
nall of  
some  
mens er-  
rour;

the fruit thereof euill, as if he might say,  
who so will make good fruits, must begin  
at y tree first, & plant vpon a good stock, so  
who so will make good works, must begin,  
not at the working, but at the belæuing,  
which belæse doth make y person good, for  
nothing maketh the person good, but faith,  
nor any thing maketh him euill, but unbe-  
læse. And eed this is true, that by works  
man is made good or euill in the iudgemēt  
of men, but this is as much in effect, as to  
doe it to vnderstand, and let it be knowne  
who bee good, or who bee euill, whereof  
Christ speaketh in the seuenth of Mat-  
thew, 'You shall know them by their  
fruits. But this knowledge consisteth  
only in shew, and outward appearance,  
& semblance, wherein many are deceiued  
that pzeume to teach and pzecribe, wher-  
by men may bee iustified in the meane  
time, making not once so much mention  
of Faith at all, masking still in their own  
mismaze, alwayes deceiued, and deceiuing  
others, going forward from worse vnto  
worse, blind guides of the blind, wearping  
themselves with a multitude of works, &

pet

yet neuer attaining to true righteousness,  
 of whom Paul writeth in the 1. to Tim. <sup>1 Tim. 3.</sup>  
 the 3. Chap. Having indeed an vtter shew  
 of holines, but denying the power there-  
 of, alwayes learning, but neuer attaining  
 to the knowledge of the truth. Therefore  
 becometh him y will not wander out of the  
 way, with these blind guides, to enter into  
 a deeper consideration, thā the vtter shew of  
 workes, of lawes, & doctrines of workes,  
 but must rather with a quite contrary  
 aspect pry into the person, and note di-  
 ligently the reason, wherby man is iusti-  
 fied: and here shall he finde, that man is  
 iustified and saued, not by workes, nor  
 by the law, but by the word of God,  
 that is to say, by the promise of his grace,  
 and by faith, that so the glory thereof may  
 redound to the maiesty of God, Who  
 hath saued vs that beleue, not by the  
 works of righteousness which wee haue  
 done, but according to his owne mercy,  
 through the word of his owne grace.

Wherby it remaineth easie to be knowne  
 in what respect good workes are to be reie-  
 cted or embraced, & in what sense all y do-  
 ctines

Rules to  
 vnder-  
 stand the  
 doctrines  
 of many.

If it



The reason of  
Luthers  
Doctrine.

crimes of men touching woꝝkes ought to be vnderstood: foꝛ if woꝝkes be compared to righteousness, and be practised by a peruerse Leviathan, and of that false persuasion, to presume vpon y obtaining true iustification therby, they do now enforce a necessity vnanoidable, & do vtterly extinguish liberty & faith withall, and so euen by this meanes are now no moze good, but mērely damnable, foꝛ they be not now free, but blasphemous to the grace of God, whose onely property is through faith to iustifie and saue, which things woꝝkes doe affect to bring to passe, not of any their ability, but by a wicked solehardinesse only, issuing from our owne grosse ignorance: by reason whereof they doe violently rushe, and intrude into the office of grace and the gloꝝy thereof. Foꝛ this cause therefore wee doe not reiect good woꝝkes, but rather doe most hartely embrace and teach them: Neither doe wee condemne them in respect of themselves, but in respect of the wicked addition giuen vnto them, and peruerse opinion conceived of them, in thattayning of righteousness:

ousnesse: whereby it commeth to passe that they appeare good onely in shew, being not good in deede, and in truth, thereby being themselves deceiued, and deceiuing others also, as rauchning wolues clothed in shéepes skinner.

And this Leuiathan and peruerse opinion in workes cannot possibly be reclaymed, where pure faith wanteth, nor is remouable from these holy workemen before that Faith the vanquisher thereof come in place and beare dominion in the heart. Nature is not of it selfe forcible enough to expell it, no not so much as to take notice therof, but esteemeth it in place of a most holy will: whereas if custome preuaile, & take déep rooting in this peruerse-nesse of nature (as is already brought to passe through wicked teachers) it is an incurable disease, and leadeth astray innumerable people into destruction bareconerable. And therfore albeit it be a commendable thing to preach & write gloriously of repentance, confession, and satisfaction, yet if they surcease here, and procéede no further, euen to the instructing of faith: such

The work  
of Leuiathan

doctrine doublet. is deceiueable and deu-  
uiliſh: For euen ſo Chriſt with his belo-  
ued John did not only ſay, Repent yee of  
your ſinnes: But added alſo the word of  
faith, For, the kingdō of heauē is at hand.

Preachers  
muſt ex-  
hort to  
Faith.

For the one part of Goos word ought  
not to be preached alone but both together  
muſt be taught: both new and old muſt  
be deliuered out of this treaſury, alwel the  
voyce of the Law, as the word of Grace.  
The voyce of the Law muſt be vttered,  
that the people may be terrified, and fra-  
med to know their ſinnes, and thereby be  
turned to repentance, and amendment  
of their former life. But here forthwith  
muſt not ſtay be made: for this were only  
to wound, and not miniſter playſter: to  
lance, and not to heale: to kill, and not to  
quicken: to lead vnto hell gates, and not to  
deliuer from thence: to throw downe alto-  
gether, and not raiſe vp. Wherefore the  
word of grace alſo, & the word of promiſed  
forgiuenes, ought likewiſe to be preached,  
to inſtruct & raiſe vp the faith, without the  
which in vaine is the doctrine of the law,  
of contrition, of repentance, & of all other  
things



things also practised and preached.

Indeed there remaine as yet certaine From  
preachers of Repentance and Grace, but whence  
they doe not disclose the law, and the pro- repen-  
mises of God, in that lively spirit & force tance or  
as others capacities may attaine to the Faith doe  
true fountaines and spring head of Repen- proceed.  
tance and Grace. For Repentance pro-  
ceedeth from out the law of God, but faith  
or Grace doth issue frō Gods promise. As  
the Apostle witnesseth in the tenth to the *Rom. 10.*  
Romans. Faith commeth by hearing,  
but hearing commeth of the word of  
Christ: Wherefore it commeth to passe,  
that man receiveth consolation, and is rai-  
led up through Faith of Gods promises,  
who otherwise through the threatnings  
and terrours of Gods Law, is brought  
low, and throwne downe into the know-  
ledge of himselfe. Whereof the Psalmist  
in the cxi. Psalm. Mourning shall dwell *Psal. 129.*  
vntill the evening, and ioyfulnesse vntill  
the morning.

Let this suffice to haue bene spoken Of works  
of works in generall, and of those works towards  
also which a Christian man doth exer- our neigh-  
bours.

If thou

else

rise towards his owne body. Lastly, wee will speak of those woꝝkes which y<sup>e</sup> Christian doth employ to the vse of his neighbour. For man doth not liue vnto himselfe only in this mortall body, to worke in the same, but to all men generally vpon the earth, Nay rather man liueth only to other men, and not to himselfe: For to this end doth hee keepe his body in subjection, that he may thereby more sincerely and freely serue to the necessities of others. As witnesseth Paul in the 14. to the Romans. No man liueth to himselfe, and no man dyeth to himselfe. For he that liueth, liueth vnto God, and hee that dyeth, dyeth vnto God. It is not possible therefore, that in this life man should be idle and vnfraittfull towards his neighbours. For of very necessity he must talke, worke, and bee conuersant amongst men. Euen as Christ made to our likeness in properties, was found to bee as man, and conuersant amongst men, as Baruch testifieth in his third Chapter. And yet he needeth none of all these to procure

Rom. 14.

Baruch. 3.

A Christian must apply himselfe to all men.

procure righteousness and salvation. And therefore in all his works becometh him to be so framed in minde, and to direct his whole affection only to minister to the necessities of others, to seeke the commodity of others, in all his deeds, having regard to nothing else, than to the behoofe and profit of his neighbour. For euen so y<sup>e</sup> Apostle commandeth vs to worke with our hands, that we may haue wherewith to relæue the necessity of our brethren: whereas otherwise he might haue said, to haue wherewith to cherish our own bodies: but let him giue (saith he) to him that is in need: For the property of true Christianity is, to regard the state of his owne body, to this end, that through health & well preserving the same, he may be able to labour to gaine riches, and to employ them to the releefe of the needy. That so y<sup>e</sup> strong member may helpe the weake member, and that we may be the sonnes of God, carefull, and travelling each for other, bearing one anothers burthen, and by this meanes fulfilling the law of Christ. Behold here the true Christian life, this is the

To what  
end the  
body must  
be che-  
rished.



The true  
Christian  
faith.

the natural lively faith, effectually through  
loue: that is to say, when it breaketh  
forth into the worke of most free seruice,  
with ioy & loue, wherein he doth freely and  
of his owne accord, minister to others, re-  
knowledging it self fully satisfied with the  
abundance and riches of his own faith.

After the same maner when Paul had  
made euident to the Philippians, how  
rich they were made through the faith of  
Christ, in y<sup>e</sup> which they had receiued plen-  
teousnesse of all things, he giueth vnto the  
another lesson, and saith, If you haue recei-  
ued any consolation of Christ, if any com-  
fort of loue, if any fellowship of the holy  
ghost, fulfil then my ioy, that ye may be al  
of one mind, & be endued all with the like  
loue, being alike minded, & thinking all  
one thing, esteeming nothing of your  
selues through cōtention or vaine glory,  
but struing to excel ech other in humili-  
ty, euery one regarding not the things of  
his own, but the necessities of others. Loe  
here by this rule of the Apostle, wee see  
plainely the life of true Christians to  
consist in this, that all their workes be  
Dis

directed to the commoditie of others, for as much as every person doth so much abound through his owne faith, that all other workes, and all his whole life, doth overflowe vnto him, wherewith he may be able to minister vnto, and profit our neighbour, of a free, and voluntary good will, and beneuolence.

And to this effect hee exciteth vnto them Christ for an example, saying, Let the same minde be in you, which was in Christ Iesu, who when hee was in the shape of God, thought it no robbery to be equall with God. Neuerthelesse he made himselfe of no reputation, taking vpon him the shape of a seruant, and became like vnto men, and was found in apparell as a man, he humbled himselfe & was made obedient euen vnto the death. For this most wholesome word of the Apostle haue they hidden in darkenesse from vs, which were altogether ignorant in the speeches of the Apostle, namely, The shape of God, the shape of Seruant, apparell and the likenesse of men, and did apply the same preposterously, to the na-  
tures

The de-  
prauers of  
the Apo-  
stles do-  
ctrine.

tures of diuinity, and humanity : whereas Pauls meaning was, that whereas Christ was fully beautified with the shape of God, and abundantly flowing with the store of all good things, so that he needed not any worke, nor any passion to make him righteous and saved (for hee did absolutely possesse all those things, eue from the first beginning of himselfe) yet was he not pufft vp in pride with these, nor was lift vp above vs, nor did challenge to himselfe a certaine power ouer vs, albeit he might in his owne right haue claymed the same: But contrariwise, did so be, haue himselfe in labour, in workes, in suffering, and in doing, that he might be like vnto other men, both in apparell & countenance, none otherwise, than as man, euen as if he had needed all these, and had possessed no parcell of the shape of God : all which neuerthelesse he vndertooke for our sakes, to the end he might minister vnto our necessities, and that all things might bee made ours, which hee should bring to passe in this shape of a seruant.

Euen



Euen so a Christian man being full and  
 abounding through his faith like vnto  
 Christ his head, ought to be contented  
 with this shape of God obtained through  
 Faith (sauiug that he ought to increase  
 the same Faith, as I said before, untill  
 it be made perfect) for this is the life of  
 man, his righteousnesse, and saluation,  
 both sauiug the person, making him ac-  
 ceptable, and furnishing him with all  
 things whosoener Christ doth possesse,  
 as is before mentioned, which also Paul  
 in the first to the Galathians doth con-  
 firme, saying: But in this that I liue in the  
 flesh I liue in the faith of the sonne of  
 God. *Gal. 1:*

A Christi-  
 an ought  
 to con-  
 forme  
 himselfe  
 to Christ:

And although he be on this wise free frō  
 all woꝝkes, yet in this freedome ought he  
 neuerthelesse to make himselfe of no re-  
 putation, and put on the shape of a ser-  
 uant, and to become like vnto men,  
 to be found in apparell as a man, and  
 to minister, and to helpe, and by al means  
 possible to woꝝke his neighbours com-  
 modity, euen after the selfe same manner  
 as he seeleth, that God hath done, and  
 daily

daily doth for him through Christ, and this also he must doe Gratis without all respect, saving in respect of Gods good pleasure, and even after this manner must hee thinke unfainedly.

The confidence of  
a Christian  
man.

Behold my good God hath giuen vnto mee most vnworthy and damned cattife, beyond all desert, of his mere and free mercy, in Christ Iesu, all the treasures of righteousness and saluation, so that henceforth I shall not stand in want of any thing at all, but of Faith, which may firmly beleue in Christ: Wherefore to this so louing a father, who hath overwhelmed mee with these his inestimable riches, why should not I frankly, ioyfully, with all my heart, and with all my most louing and willing soule, yeelde all service whatsoever I doe know to bee well pleasing, and is acceptable in his eyes.

Wherefore I will giue my selfe wholly a certain Christ vnto my neighbour, even as Christ gaue himselfe vnto me, and will  
doe

doe nothing in this transitory life, but that which I shall perceiue to be necessary, commodious, and profitable for my neighbour, in as much, as I am sufficiently enough enriched with all good things in Christ through Faith.

Lo here out of Faith floweth Loue, & reioycing in the Lord, and out of Loue floweth likewise a cherefull, liberall, and free heart to minister to the necessity of thy neighbour, frankly of thy owne accord, so that here now is no consideration had of gratitude, or ingratitude, of praise or dispraise, of vantage or of losse: For neither doth hee apply hereunto to winne the fauour of men, nor maketh any difference betwixt friends or foes, nor respecteth the thankfull or vnthankfull, but most frankly and with most glaesome cheare doth yelde himselfe wholly, and all that he possesseth, without regard whether he lose the same in the vnthankfull, or employ it on the deserring: For euen so his father doth, disposing all things to all abundantly and most freely, making his sun to shine vpon the good and the wicked.

The fruit  
of Faith.  
Behold  
gentle  
Reader  
how wor-  
thily is  
Luther re-  
proched.



ked. In like manner, the sonne doth work and suffer nothing but of a free and chearefull joy, wherewith through Christ hee is delighted in God the giuer of so great and inestimable treasures.

We ought  
to know  
how great  
things are  
given vs.

You see therefore, if wee acknowledge all those things which are giuen vnto vs, of greatest and highest price (as Peter saith) & forthwith loue is poured abroad in our hearts, by the holy Ghost, whereby we are free, chearfull, omnipotent, doers, workers, and conquerour of all tribulation, seruants of our neighbours, yet Lords of all things notwithstanding. But such as doe not know the gifts giuen vnto them through Christ, to them Christ is bozne in vaine: such wander in the way of works, and shall neuer attaine to the taste and feeling of those things. Therefore as our neighbour is pressed downe with necessity, and wanteth of our store & abundance, even so were we ouerwhelmed with necessity in the sight of God, and needed altogether his mercy. Wherefore as our heavenly father did succour vs in Christ Iesus freely, even so ought wee help

help our neighbour freely by our body and by our woꝝkes, and euery of vs muſt be made a certaine Chriſt each to other, that wee may bee made debtours of Chriſt, and that Chriſt may bee one and the ſame in all, that is to ſay, that wee may be true Chriſtians.

Who is able therefore to comprehend the riches and glory of a Chriſtian life, which is able to doe all things, poſſelleth all things, and needeth nothing, an Empreſſe and Conquerreſſe of ſinne, death, and hell, and withall an handmaid neuertheleſſe, ſeruiſeable and profitable to all: but the more is the pity. This Chriſtian Juſtification is, at this day, altogether vnknowne in the whole world, neither is it preached, nor procured, in ſo much, that we are our ſelues ignorant of our name, and for what cauſe we be named and called Chriſtians. True it is, wee haue receiued our denomination of Chriſt, not being abſent from vs, but dwelling within vs. That is to ſay, whiles we beleue in him, and reſpectfully and mutually a certaine Chriſt

The glory  
of a Chri-  
ſtian life.

In what  
reſpect we  
be named  
Chriſtians

each to other, applying our selues to our neighbours, euen as Christ hath giuen himselfe to vs.

But in these our dayes we are taught by mens doctrines to seeke after nought else but deseruings, and merites, and the things which are our own, & haue made of Christ nought else, but a sharpe Lawmaker, much more austere than Moses was.

The holy  
Mother of  
Christian  
example  
of Faith.  
*Luke 2.*

Seemably, the blessed virgin Mary did exhibite her selfe a singular president of the Faith aboue al others, whiles after the manner of all other women she was purified according to Moses Law (as it is set down in the 2 of Luke) whereas being notwithstanding not bound to any such law, nor needed to be purified in any such wise, yet she yielded her selfe to the law of her own accord, and of a free leue vnto the law, being made like vnto other women, lest shee might seeme to offeend or despise them. She was not therefore made righteous for that worke, but being righteous before, shee did this deed freely, and without coactiō. In like maner ought our workes to be put in bre, not to the end to



be iustified by them, for as much as being iustified first by Faith, it becometh vs to worke all things freely and cheerefully for our neighbours sake.

So also Paul did circumcise his scholar Timothy, not because Timothy needed to be circumcised vnto righteousness: but lest hee might offend or despise the Jewes that were weake in Faith, and which as yet were not capable of the freedom of Faith. But contrariwise, when as the Jewes did vze a necessity to be circumcised to righteousness, setting at naught the freedom of Faith, hee did withstand them, and would not permit Titus to be circumcised, Galath. 3. for as he would not willingly offend or contemne the infirmities or weakenesse of others in the Faith, applying himselfe to their capacity for a time: so likewise, would hee not giue place to the will of stiffnecked Anticiaries, when the liberty of Faith was like to suffer reproach, or be despised, keeping the midway, bearing with the weake for a season, and alwayes setting himselfe against the indurate, to the end

Paul doth  
teach  
works.

Gal. 3:

he might conuert all in generality to embrace the liberty of Faith. With like affection must our woꝝkes bee employed, that we tolerate the weaklings in Faith, as the Apostle teacheth in the 14. to the Romanes, but that with courage we resist the inflexible vrgers of woꝝkes, of the which wee will treat moze at large hereafter.

An exam-  
ple of our  
Lord  
Christ.

Likewise Christ in the 17. of Mathew, when tribute was demanded of his Disciples, asked the question of Saint Peter, whether the childzen of the King, dome were exempt from paying Tribute, and Peter affirming that they were, did command him notwithstanding to goe to the Sea, speaking these words, Lest we giue them cause of offence, goe, and the Fish that first commeth to thy hands take, and opening his mouth, thou shalt finde a groate, take the same, and giue it for thee and me.

This example is very much anayleable for our purpose. In the which, Christ doth call himselfe and his Disciples free, and Kings sonnes, which stand

stand in néede of nothing, and yet of his owne accord submitterh himselfe, and payeth Tribute.

Therefore, by how much this worke of Christ was necessary to Christ; and profitable vnto righteousness and saluation, euen so much are all the workes of his elect and faithfull auailable to righteousness, whereas they be all following after righteousness, and freely performed onely to the necessity and example of others.

Of the same condition are the workes prescribed by Paul in the thirteenth Chapter to the Romanes, and in the third to Timothy, That men should bee subiect to the higher powers, and prepared to all good workes, not because they should bee iustified thereby, where as they bee righteous already through Faith, but that by these they might both bee subiect to others, and to the higher powers, add of a free loue yelde humbly obedience to their will in the freedome of the spirit.

Take hold of Luther all ye Religious, and admit him to be your teacher.



Of this same sort ought the  
 woorkes of all Colledges, Monasteries,  
 and Priestes haue bene employed,  
 that euery of them might haue perfo-  
 med the woorkes of their profession and  
 estate to this end, that by these, euery  
 of them might exercise not righteousness,  
 but the tanning of his owne body, pre-  
 ding thereby example to others, who  
 haue themselves also neede to chastise  
 their owne bodys. Then also, that they  
 might expresse humble obedience to o-  
 thers, applying themselves to their com-  
 mandement, of a free loue, hauing neuer-  
 thelesse a speciall regard alwaies to this  
 onely, to witte, that through vaine confi-  
 dence, none of them presume to be iustifi-  
 ed, to merite, or to be lauded by them, which  
 thing is the proper and peculiar office of  
 Faith onely, as I haue often said before.

The  
 know.

ledge of a  
 true Chri-  
 stian,

Therefore, who so were furnished with  
 this doctrine, might easily without dan-  
 ger wade in these infinite impositions and  
 traditions of the Pope, of Bishops, of  
 Monckeries, of Churches, of Princes and  
 Magistrates, the which some foolish peo-  
 ple

sto

foz doe so obtrude vpon vs, as though they were of an vnanoydable necessitie to bee perfozmed, foz the obtaining of righteousnesse and saluation, calling them commonly the iniunctions of the Church, being in deede nothing lesse. For a Christian man may debate with himselfe on this wise, I will fast, I will pray, I will apply my selfe to all whatsoeuer is commanded by men, not because I need to doe any of these, to procure righteousnesse or saluation by them: but because I will expresse mine obedience herein to the Pope, to the Bishops, to the Potentate, and to the Magistrate, or to my neighbour for example sake, foz this cause I will doe and suffer all things, euen as Christ did worke and suffer many greater things for my sake, whereof he needed not to doe any one, being made for my sake subiect vnto the law, when as in deede he was not vnder the law. And although these things be exacted of me through the tyrannous force, and iniurious tyranny of the Magistrates, yet shall they be no prejudice to me, so long as they be not against the glory of God.

G iiii

The

The difference be-  
twixt the  
good and  
the euill  
pastors.

The premisses considered, it is an easie matter for any man to iudge certainly: betwixt the difference of all works, and all lawes, & know skillfully who be blind, and witleffe Preachers, & who be true & faithfull pastors. For whatsoever worke bee not directed to this only marke, namely, to be employed to y<sup>e</sup> chastisment of y<sup>e</sup> body, or to y<sup>e</sup> dutiful consideration of y<sup>e</sup> neighbor (so y<sup>e</sup> it enforce not any thing directly against Gods glozy) surely y<sup>e</sup> work is neither good nor Christianlike. And this is the cause, y<sup>e</sup> I feare me much, very few Colledges at all, any Monasteries, Altars, or any Ecclesiastical exercises at this day, be not truly Christian, & that also as well those proper & peculiar fastings, as y<sup>e</sup> petty prayers to certain Saints be not Christian I feare me much (I say) y<sup>e</sup> in all these things regard is had of nought else, but y<sup>e</sup> which appertayneth to our selues, whiles we be thus minded, y<sup>e</sup> by meanes of these exercises, our sins are cleansed, & saluation obtained thereby, & so Christian liberty is ouerthrowen, the cause wherof proceedeth frō blind ignorance of y<sup>e</sup> true Christian faith, full of all freedom.

Which



Which grosse ignorance & suppression of liberty, very many blind & buffardly pastors doe earnestly maintaine, whilst they doe greedily perswade, & bidge y<sup>e</sup> people to such exercises, aduancing them aboue Moone and Stars, & glorifying the with their pardons, but of faith neuer uttering so much as one word. But I wold wish thee to be wel advised, that if thou haue wil at any time to pray, to fast, or to found Churches (as they

Good ad-

uice.

end to procure to thy self any tēporal or euerlasting commodity therewith: for in so doing, thou shalt be prejudiciall to thy faith, which only doth minister all things vnto thee, & therfore ought only be attended vnto, y<sup>e</sup> it may be encreased, whether it be occupied in workes, or exercised with afflictions: but giue freely without hope of requittall, whatsoeuer y<sup>e</sup> giuest, that others may be releued, and grow in well doing through thee, and thy liberality, for this is the way to make thee a good and a true Christian man. For what shall auaille thee, thy goods, & thy workes, whereof thou art endued with a surplus, vnder and besides those

Only faith  
must be  
attended  
vnto.

those which do serue to the necessary cha-  
stisement of the body: when as thou art  
sufficiently enriched for thy necessities,  
through thy Faith, in the which God  
hath endued thee with all plentifull store.

Behold, by this rule it becometh vs to  
poure out each vpon other, and to make  
common each vnto other the goods which  
we haue receiued of God, and that every  
man cloath himselfe with his neighbours  
estate, and so apply himselfe to his neigh-  
bours necessities, euen as if wee were in  
y<sup>e</sup> like necessity our selues: out of Christs  
storehouse they overflowed, and from him  
flow daily vnto vs, who hath so taken  
our necessities vpon himselfe, and so per-  
formed all things for our sakes, as if  
himselfe had bene the same that wee be.  
They flow likewise from vs, vnto them  
who stand in need of them, in so much,  
that I am bound to poure out before  
God my faith, and my righteousness,  
to couer and entreat for the sinnes of my  
neighbour, the burthen of whose sinnes  
I must in mine owne person sustaine, and  
so trauell and bee afflicted in them, as if  
they

A rule  
touching  
brotherly  
loue.

they were mine owne sinnes, for on this wise was Christ afflicted for our sakes, for this is the very true loue, this is the rule of a pure Christian loue, which is in them very naturall and pure indeed, in whom dwelleth a pure and sincere Faith indeed, whereupon, the Apostle in the first to the Corinthians, the thirteenth Chapter, doth giue this singular prerogative to loue, That it seeketh not the things that are her owne.

And therefore we doe conclude, that a Christian man doth not liue in himselfe, but in Christ, and in his neighbour, or that to be a Christian man, is to dwell in Christ by Faith, and in his neighbour by loue.

1 Cor. 13.  
A Christian man  
doth liue  
in himself,  
and in his  
neighbour

Againe, a Christian man is raised vp aboue himselfe to Godward by Faith, and is throwne downe beneath himselfe, toward his neighbour by loue, dwelling alwayes neuertheless in God, and in the loue of God, according to the saying of Christ in the first of John, Verily, verily, I say vnto you, from henceforth you shall see the heauens opened,  
and



and the Angels of God ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man. And thus farre sufficiently concerning Christian liberty, which is (as you see) spirituall and true, making our hearts free from all sinnes, from all lawes, and commandements (as Paul witnesseth in his first Epistle to Timothy, the first Chapter, The Law was not made for the iust man) which liberty doth as farre surmount all other outward and external liberties in excellencie, as the Heauens doth surpasse the Earth, which Christ grant vs to vnderstand, and enioy to our comfort, Amen.

Against  
the liber-  
ty of the  
flesh.

In fine, to satisfie those persons, who can neuer heare any thing, be it neuer so well spoken, but that they will depzaue it by euill conceiuing, somewhat must bee annexed, if that at the least they be able to conceiue the same. There be very many, who hearing the doctrine of this Christian liberty of Faith, will by and by take occasion thereof, to maintaine the liberty of the flesh, supposing forthwith that they may lawfully attempt all things, noz  
will

will expresse their liberty and Christianity in any one thing else, than in despising, and reproving of Ceremonies, of mens traditions and constitutions, as though they ought for this cause to be deemed Christians, because they doe not fast in the dayes appointed for fasting, or because they eat flesh, whylest other doe abstaine from flesh, or because they doe not frequent Masses and Mattens, or other vsuall seruice in the Church, disdainefully scorning and scoffing at the ordinances of men, vtterly setting at naught all other things appertaining to Christian Religion. Against whom, there is another sort that doe with tooth and nayle bend their force, which contrariwise, doe endeavour to attayne saluation, by the onely obseruation and reuerence of Ceremonies, as though they should for this cause be saued, because they fast on the fasting dayes, or abstaine from flesh, or inure themselves to certaine prayers, excessively vaunting the traditions of the Church, and of the fathers, yet otherwise not

Against  
the confidence in  
workes.

not esteeming the things that are proper and peculiar to our Christian Faith, worth a rush, both which sorts of people are surely altogether much blame-worthy, for as much, as passing over matters of great importance, and carelessly neglecting the things necessarily belonging to salvation, they turmoyle themselves in so great outrage about these trifling toys, being altogether unnecessary and unprofitable.

How much more soundly doth Paul teach to keepe the middle way, condemning both those by-pathes, saying, He that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not: and he that eateth not, let him not iudge him that eateth. Here you see, that such as do neglect, and condemne the ceremonies, not of devotion, but of mere contempt, bee accounted blame-worthy, whereas the Apostle teacheth them not to despise, for knowledge both cause to swell, and to be puffed up. Againe, he exhorteth the obstinate, that they iudge not others, for neither of them both obserue charity, edifying one another, wherefore



foze in this perplexity, counsell must bee sought out of Scripture, which doth teach vs, not to decline on the right, nor on the left hand, but to ensue the right iudgements of the Lord, quickning the hearts: for as no man is righteous, because hee humbleth himselfe, and is addicted to woꝝkes, and rites of ceremonies, so neither shall any man bee accounted for this only cause righteous, because he doth omit and contemne them.

For wee bee not freed thꝛough our Faith in Christ from woꝝkes, but from the opinions of woꝝkes, that is to say, from the foolish presumption conceived of Justification, purchased by meanes of woꝝkes: for Faith both redeeme our consciences, both orderly keepe and preserve the same, wherby we attaine this knowledge, that righteousness consisteth not in woꝝkes, albeit woꝝkes neither can, nor ought to bee neglected. As wee cannot live in this world without food and sustenance, nor without the generall preservation of this mortall body, yet is not our righteousness sold

selled in these, but in Faith, for the  
 which, the other things notwithstanding  
 may not bee despised, and vnter-  
 ly taken off. So in this world, wee  
 bee fast chayned to the necessary preser-  
 uation of the life of this body, yet are  
 wee not thereby made righteous, My  
 kingdome (saith Christ) is not from  
 hence, nor of this World, but hee said  
 not, my kingdome is not here, nor in  
 this world. Likewise Paul, Albeit wee  
 walke in the flesh, yet our warfare is not  
 according to the flesh. And in the first  
 to the Galatians, Whereas I doe liue in  
 the flesh, I liue in the faith of the sonne  
 of God. Euen so in this that we worke  
 that we liue, and that we are exercised in  
 workes and ceremonies, the necessity  
 of this present life, and the carefull re-  
 gard of gouerning our bodies, doth ex-  
 act it of vs, yet are wee neuer made  
 righteous by them, but in the Faith of  
 the Sonne of God. Therefore, a Chri-  
 stian man must keepe his course in the  
 midde way, and must passe away from  
 those two sorts of people, for either  
 he

Gal. i.

How we  
 ought to  
 deale with  
 the obsti-  
 nate.

hee shall meet with those peruerse forwardes, being indurate with these Ceremonies, which, like Deafe Serpents, will not hearken vnto the liberty of the truth, but magnifie their Ceremonies, command and enforce the obseruation of them without Faith, as necessities of Iustification, such as the Jewes were in times past unwilling to come to knowledze thereby, to walke aright. Such becometh vs to resist, to impugne them, and to offend them stoutly, lest by this their wicked opinion, they draw together with themselves many, into their false illusions. In the presence of such it is conuenient to eat flesh, to breake fasting dayes, and for the maintenance of our liberty in faith, to do other like things, which they reckon in place of most græuous sinnes. And in this manner must wee speake of them, Let them alone, they bee blinde themselves, and blinde guides of the blinde, for in this respect Paul would not suffer Titus



tus to receiue Circumcision, though they  
stiffely bzged hereunto. So did Christ  
also defend his Apostles, when as they  
pluckt the eares of corne on the Sabbath  
day, and many such like.

The sim-  
ple.

On the other side, we shal meet with the  
simple, vnlearned, ignozant, and weake in  
Faith (as Paul calleth them) whose capa-  
cities are not yet able to comprehend this  
libertie of Faith, though they haue a will  
thereunto. Such must be bozne withall,  
lest they be offended: and their weaknesse  
must be fauoured, vntill they may be moze  
fully instructed. For whereas those per-  
sons do not obserue such ceremonies of a-  
ny grounded malice, noz are wilfully ob-  
stinate in iudgement, but conceiue of them  
according to the imbecility of their Faith  
onely, fastings, abstinence from choise  
meates, and such other ceremonies, which  
they doe suppose to be necessary, must  
be obserued for auoyding offence in them.  
For this doth Charitie exact of vs, which  
hurteth no man but helpes vs. For such  
con,

continue not weaklings through their owne default, but through the negligence of their pastors, which with their cramps and grapling yrons of traditions, haue intangled euil handled, and deadly wounded them, who otherwise ought to haue bene deliuered, made whole, and reuiued with the doctrine of Faith and Christian Liberty. The same doth the Apostle teach in the fourteenth Chapter to the Rom. *Rom. 4.* If my meate doe offend my brother, I will not eate flesh for euer. And againe, I know that in Christ there is nothing defiled, but vnto him that thinketh it to bee defiled, but it is euill to the man that eateth to the offence of his brother.

Therefore, although wee must stoutly withstand those teachers of Traditions, and sharply inueigh against the constitutions of Bishops, wherewith they ouerrunne the people of God, yet regard must be had of the timorous weaklings, whom those cruell bloudsuckers, *Against the lawes and law-makers.*

It doe

doe cruelly detaine captiue with those traditions, vntill they be set at liberty. On this wise encounter manfully against the Wolves, but for the Sheepe, and not against the Sheepe also, which thou shalt the better do, if thou bend thy force earnestly against those Lawes and Lawmakers, and yet withall thy selfe obserue them in the sight of the weake, lest they become offended through thee, vntill themselves may know that Tyranny, and vnderstand their owne liberties. And if thou wilt enjoy thine owne liberty, vse it to thy selfe in secret (as Paul teacheth thee in the fourteenth to the Rom.) Keep thou the Faith which thou hast vnto thy selfe before God, but beware that thou vse it not before the weake. Againe, before Tyrants and obstinate frowards, vse the same in despite of them, yea, and that most manfully and constantly: That they also may vnderstand their owne wickednesse, and their Lawes to be nothing auailable to righteousness, as also

Rom. 14.



so that they had no authoritie to make  
such lawes.

For as much therefore, as the society To the  
of this present life cannot be maintained in yong in  
due order without ceremonies & woꝝkes: yeares.  
Pea rather, soasmuch as the raging and  
rude age of yong persons hath neede to be  
restrained and bzidled with such raines,  
as it were with a Snafle, and that euery  
man ought to chastise his own body: with  
the same exercises, it behoueth therefore  
the Minister of Christ to be prudent and  
faithfull, that hee may so instruct and  
guide Christs flocke in all these things,  
that their Conscience and Faith may not  
be offended, and to be circumspect, that no  
vnsauorie opinion, noꝝ bitter smatch of  
loathsomnesse may take roote in them, by  
meanes whereof, many may be infected,  
(wherof Paul did foꝛeuarne y<sup>e</sup> Hebꝛues)  
that is to say, lest losing their faith vt-  
terly, they beginne to be defiled with vaine  
presumption of woꝝkes, as though they  
were to bee saued by woꝝkes, which is a

spēdy contagion, and doth pierce dēply into many, vnlesse faith bee busily and seriously enforced withall, but the disease is vnauoydable, where faith being put vp to silence, onely traditions of men taught to bee retayned, as hath bene hitherto through y pestiferous, detestable, & soule slaying traditions of our Bishops, and vagarant opinions of our Diuines, haling infinite soules to the Deuill, with these intricate fetters, which by plaine demonstration doth denounce very Antechrist himselfe.

Danger in  
the cere-  
monies.

To conclude, such as is pouerty in abundance, painfullnesse in authoritie, humblenesse in honour, abstinence in feasting, chastity in dalliance, even so righteousness of faith is dangerously beset being ioined with ceremonies: May a man carry fire in his bosome (saith Salomon) and not burne his garments? And yet as in riches, in authoritie, in honours, in dalliance, in banquetings, so most we be conuersant in ceremonies, that is to  
say:

say, in dangers : yea rather as it is need-  
full for yong boyes to be nursed and che-  
rished in the laps and armes of maydens,  
lest they perish, in whom being growne  
foriper yeares, were no small perill of  
safetie to frequent the company of may-  
dens : Euen so is it requisite to lock vp y  
ranging peeres of licencious youth with-  
in the Cloysters, yea, within iron closetts  
of such ceremonies and exercises, whereas  
they may bee restrained and abide corre-  
ction, lest their insolent courage draw  
them headlong into wickednesse. Which  
ceremonies do neuertheles procure death  
vnto them, if they perseuere in opinion to  
bee iustificable by them, whereas they  
ought rather to bee instructed, that they  
were clogged with such restraint, not for  
any such cause as to bee made righteous,  
or to merit much thereby, but to the end,  
they should not rush wilfully into vices,  
and so bee the more tractable trained to  
the righteousness of faith : which they

H illi

would



would in no wise endure through the outrage of their youth, vnlesse the same had bene tamed and brought low.

Of what  
estimation  
ceremo-  
nies be.

Which doth argue, that ceremonies ought not to be of any other price and estimation in the life of a true Christian man, than as amongst Carpenters and Artificers, certaine old postes, logges, or platfozmes, are framed to direct & raise vp buildings by: which bee not made to the end they should serue and remaine to any speciall vse, but because without such by-helpes, buildings and woꝝkes cannot easily bee raysed, for when the woꝝk or building is finished, those deuises are laid aside.

So that here you see, that ceremonies are not vtterly abrogated, but rather earnestly required, but the vaine persuasion and presumption of them is condemned, because no man accompteth them to be a true and permanent building. If any man would bee so notably senselesse,

senselesse, as to regard nothing else in his whole life, but to direct those preparatiues, with all honour, with all diligence, with all continuance, and would neuer bende his cogitations to the very building it selfe, stroking, smoothing, and baunting himselfe in these preparatiues, and baine rotten proppes, would not all men lament his madnesse, and thinke within themselves, that whiles he employed this cost to no purpose, he might haue builded some matter of better substance? So now we do neither abandō cerenonies, nor works, but rather doe allow them, neuertheless we doe vtterly abhorre the baine opinion conceined of them, lest that any man perswade himselfe, that to obserue them is the true righteousness, as Hypocrites doe, which doe abuse and mispend their whole life in these exercises, & neuer reach vnto the substance, in respect whereof they are practized, or as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle speaketh: Alwayes learning, and neuer coming

ming to the knowledge of the Truth: For they seeme as though they had a will to build, and alwayes prepare themselves thereunto, and yet they never build, persisting alwayes in the glittering shadow of godlinesse, but never attaine to the power and substance thereof.

Against  
them that  
be nota-  
bly suspi-  
tious.

Yet do they wonderfully flatter themselves in these exercises, presuming also arrogantly to iudge all others, whom they see not glittering in the like brauery of workes, whereas they might otherwise bee able to atchieue matters of greater importance, to the singular comfort of themselves and others, with this vainely employed ostentation, and abuse of Gods gifts, if they were indued with a right and true faith. But whereas the nature of man and reason (as they tearme it) naturall, is naturally inclined to superstition, and pursuing all Lawes and workes, is prone of her selfe to fall into vaine presumption of obtaining iustification through them:



them : adde mozeouer herevnto, because it is accustomed and inured to conceiue so highly of the same woꝝkes, thzough the vsuall admiration of all earthly law-makers, it is not possible surely of her owne strength, to cleare it selfe from this seruile bondage of woꝝkes, and to bend her force to know the liberty of faith.

Therefore it is requisite, that we flée to prayer, that the Lord would vouchsafe to draw vs and make vs instructed vnto GOD, that is to say, apt Schollers for God, and that himselfe will vouchsafe to write his Law in our hearts (as hee hath promised) otherwise we doe all come to confusion. For except he doe engraffe in our soules this marvellous ~~Wisdom~~ <sup>Wisdom</sup> hidden in a mystery, Nature cannot chouse but condemne it, and adindge it for an Heretique, because shee is offended in it, and appeareth foolish in her eyes. Euen as we saw to haue hap-  
ned

From  
whence  
the law of  
wisdom  
doth pro-  
ceede.

ned in times past to the Propbets of  
G D D and the Apostles, and euen as  
the wicked blinde Prelates, and their  
false flatterers doe now vnto mee, and  
others like vnto mee, vnto whom,  
and to vs also, G D D bee mercifull,  
and shew the light of his countenance  
vpon vs, that wee may know his way  
vpon the earth, and his sauing health  
amongst all generations. Who  
be blessed for euer and euer.

Amen.

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FINIS.

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